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CONSISTING OF  
EXTRACTS from and ABRIDGMENTS of  
THE  
CHOICEST PIECES  
OF  
Practical Divinity,

Which have been publish'd in the  
ENGLISH TONGUE.

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IN FIFTY VOLUMES.

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By JOHN WESLEY, M. A.  
Late FELLOW of *Lincoln-College*, OXFORD.

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VOL. XXVII.

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BRISTOL:  
Printed by E. FARLEY.

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MDCCLIII.



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ENGLISH TONGUE

In Fifty Volumes

By JOHN WESTLEY, M.A.

Late Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford

VOL. XXVII

B R I S T O L

Printed by E. FARRER

THE  
LIVES  
OF SUNDRY  
EMINENT PERSONS.

Extracted chiefly from

Mr. SAMUEL CLARK,

CONTINUED.



L I V E S

OF SCOTLAND

EMINENT PERSONS

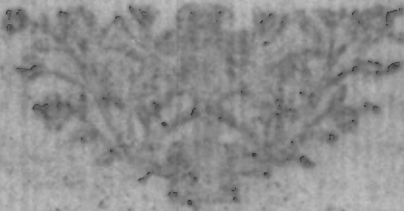
Extracted chiefly from



MR. SAMUEL JOHNSON

CONTINUED

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THE

A



T H E  
L I F E  
O F

# JOSEPH WOODWARD.

*R. Joseph Woodward* was born at *Upper-1*  
*Cam* in the County of *Gloucester*. He  
 was bred in *Oxen*, where he was *M.A.*  
 Then he was Master of the Free-  
 School at *Wotton-under-edge*. His Car-  
 riage was very obliging, but he had at that Time  
 but little Seriousness, and was wont to frequent  
 the Company of some Gentlemen, whose Cha-  
 racter for Virtue or Sobriety was not very eminent:  
 But it pleased God, by a seemingly little Acci-  
 dent, to awaken him to a serious Consideration of  
 the Things of another World. Being out one Even-  
 ing late, returning Home, the Dogs fell a fighting  
 about him, not without Danger; which caused a  
 serious Reflection in him, what would have become  
 of his Soul, if he should have been torn in Pieces by



them: And so leaving his former Company, he changed it for those in *Wooton*, who used to pray and repeat Sermons, and sing together; which Society he found so beneficial to him, that he us'd to say, Though *Oxford* made him a Scholar, yet *Wooton* fitted him for the Ministry. I am told by another, that he did not so much as handle a Bible, 'till Mr. *Sam. Sprint* (afterwards Minister in *Andover, Hampshire*) his Scholar, was privately reading the Scripture, and praying, as his Father had charged him. His Master found him thus busy in his Chamber, and was thereby struck with Shame and Concern, that he that was the Master should do less than a young Boy. Hereupon he got him a Bible, and read and study'd it: And shortly after, whereas the School had only *Latin* Prayers, he brought in *English* Prayers, Reading of Scripture, and Singing of Psalms, and all pious Exercises.

SOME Time after he was ordained, and became very serviceable, and *Dursley* sought him to be their Minister, all with one Consent voting for him: Whereupon he fixed with them: And tho' he was afterwards tempted to *Wells* with a double Stipend, he would not accept it. He took a great deal of Pains among the People of *Dursley*: First he shew'd them the Privileges of Gospel Times, and then of Gospel Things, and the absolute Necessity of *Christ*, and then opened the Nature of the Two Covenants.

AFTER some Time he vigorously set about the Reformation of many Disorders in Discipline and Manners among the People; aiming at which he met with many Discouragements. Some withdrew from his Ministry, others withheld their Part of his Stipend solemnly promis'd him, and others refused to pray and sing, and receive the Sacra-

Sacrament. These Troubles, and the Disorders which they brought upon him, who was sensibly disturb'd at the sad Interruption of his Work, so discompos'd him that he fell into Fits, and was taken with a Fever: And the Grief of his Mind had such an Influence on his Body, that it was thought he received his mortal Stroke by the Disturbances among his People, and their Carriage towards him.

HE hereupon determin'd to leave them; and once there came about ten Men, with a Design to carry him to another Place, where he might have a better Prospect; and he was inclined to go with them: But the very Men that oppos'd and slighted him before, when they found he was going, came and begg'd his Pardon, and promis'd a better Carriage for the future, and so he stay'd. Some Time after there were about seven Men that resolv'd to ruin him, some by Swearing against him, and some in other Ways: But it pleas'd GOD that several of them dy'd, and his principal Enemy fell desperately ill, and upon his Death-bed sent for him to pray with him, and desired him to preach his Funeral Sermon, and confess'd, that he and his Companions had resolv'd to ruin him; but he now saw he must die, and he warn'd all his Associates to desist from their Design, as they would not provoke GOD to visit them with his Judgments: And so at last he was deliver'd from their Malice: And he had the Comfort to see his People become teachable, and conformable to the Rules of the Gospel. His Labours among them were very great. Besides the Toil of a School, he preached twice every Lord's-Day, Expounding in the Morning, and Catechising in the Afternoon, before Sermon. Every *Tuesday* he expounded for an Hour

Hour or two, and carried on a Lecture every *Thursday*, usually without any Assistance from other Ministers. On Lord's-day Evenings he repeated with his Scholars, and many of his Auditors at his own House. And at Funerals, he either preach'd or expounded; and was always very plain and warm in maintaining the Foundations of Religion. Twice a Year he kept a publick Fast, besides many in private. Every *Monday* after Dinner he us'd to visit ten Families, to instruct the Ignorant, reprove the Scandalous, and comfort the Afflicted. He was very diligent in instilling the Principles of Religion into the younger Sort, and collected Money for teaching poor Children to read. He himself also was very liberal in Works of Mercy. He was a very strict Observer of the Sabbath; and used on that Day to rise very early. He was a Man of a very large Soul, and publick Spirit; one of unshaken Constancy and Resolution, and sincere Plain-heartedness. He took great Pains to oppose the Sectaries, and disputed with them openly as an Occasion offered, all round the Country, and silenc'd them. He protested and preach'd against taking the *Engagement*. *Oliver* upon some Occasion, appointing a Day of publick Thanksgiving, he thinking there was more need of Fasting, appointed a solemn publick Fast, and kept it with his People.

WHEN he declared his Resolution to admit none to the Sacrament of the LORD'S-Supper, but what together with a visible Probity of Conversation, had also a competent Knowledge, a certain Person said, he would not submit to Examination, and yet he would come; and if Mr. *Woodward* would not give him the Sacrament, he would take it. In Pursuance of his Resolution he was coming

o Church on the Sacrament-day, but he had scarce set one Foot over the Threshold, before he fell down dead; at which many were much affected.

AT length, being over-borne with Labour, and his Infirmities growing upon him, by reason of a wasting Consumption, he went to Rest a little before the *Act of Uniformity* took Place.

SOME in the Country having a Design to publish his Life, Dr. Woodward, his Son, sent them this Account of his Father in a Letter:

*I Am assured that very few (at least in these degenerate Days) are blessed with such Eminency of Grace as he was; which seem'd always to be in the Height of pious Zeal, without any considerable Abate-ments at any Time. In Truth, such a Pitch of Ardor seem'd to many to be above the common State of Humanity itself, and to have a Tendency to decay the Health and Course of Nature. But the Power of GOD bore him up for many Years, 'till at last indeed the raised Soul grew too big for the Body, and by Degrees rent it into Pieces, to make Way for a happy Dissolution.*

ABOUT the 23<sup>d</sup> Year of his Age, he was so smitten in his Breast with a Sense of the Evil of Sin, (through what particular Means I do not perfectly remember) that he has profess'd he thought himself the vilest Creature breathing. He fancy'd the very Dogs in the Street were by their Maker set against him; and when they bark'd, probably on various Instigations, he thought every Yelp was a Mark of his Odiousness, and Monstrousness as a Sinner. So that he was constrain'd to forbear Company for a while, and to retire from the Publick, to sit himself to the most important



portant Work of Life, viz. to spread the Wounds and Ulcers of his Soul, before the PHYSICIAN of Souls; and to seek the healing Balm of his REDEEMER's Blood; to which he apply'd himself (through the Grace of GOD) with such Earnestness, and to so good Effect, that all his Life after shew'd, he was saved thro' Faith: There appearing little Concern in him for any Thing but the Glory of GOD, and the insuring eternal Life.

YET he did not presently step forth into the Ministry. He rather dreaded that awful and tremendous Charge, in which above all the Employments beneath the Skies, Men ought to appear with the highest Advancements of Holiness, Prudence, and Diligence. He rather retired from such a Work, which needs the Zeal, Purity, and Wisdom of an Angel, if Men could attain it. And like Nazianzen, Chrysostom, and most of the primitive Divines, he was by much Intreaty drawn to so solemn an Office, after he had spent a considerable Time in the University of Oxford.

BUT when his 30<sup>th</sup> Year was come, GOD was pleased to send an inward Warmth into his Soul, which was more compulsive than all outward Persuasion: For he seemed to have such a Zeal for GOD, and the Souls of Men, as burnt like Fire, and (like that of the Prophet Jeremiah xx. 9.) was no Way to be made easy and tolerable, but by giving it outward Vent; which the Subject he first preach'd upon did plainly shew. For his first Sermon was deliver'd in the Church of his native Village, and in these Words of St. Peter and John, Acts iv. 20. For we cannot but speak the Things which we have seen and heard. And I have heard many that were then his Hearers say, that they all wondered at the gracious Things which proceeded out of his Mouth.

HE

He had indeed such a Readiness, or rather Exuberance in delivering the Will of GOD, upon any Subject before him, that tho' he always wrote his Sermons at large, yet he has often confess'd, he has been carried into a Field of Doctrine, which he had never committed to Writing; not in a roving and injudicious Discourse, but in such melting and close Argument, as seldom failed to reach the Mark he principally aimed at, viz. the softning and reducing obstinate Hearts.

THE Course of my good Father's Labours in the Ministry, was suitable to this careful Entrance upon it. He was earnest even as St. Paul (beyond Strength) and would never preach a Sermon to others, but what had first warmed his own Breast: For which Cause, he sometimes either raz'd out a Part of a Sermon, or wholly threw it by. He was most affectionate and devout in Prayer, earnest in Preaching, bold in re-proving, kind in admonishing, ready to advise and succour, and comfort the Feeble and Disconsolate: And in a Word, he spent, and was spent in his Ministerial Labours.

HE made frequent Visits to all under his Care at their own Dwellings. He would pry into most of their Failures and Neglects, and would compassionate all their Wants of Soul, Body, and Estate.

I KNOW not by what peculiar Impulse it was that he particularly fixed his Desires of exercising his Ministry in Dursley; a Place at that Time very dissolute; insomuch that it had the Nickname of Drunken Dursley: But if he found it so, it was very much alter'd by his Labours of many Years there; and it became one of the most wealthy and trading Towns in the Neighbourhood. Some of them having told me,  
that

that they cleared a thousand Pounds a Year by the Trade of Cloathing, in the Time of his Residence there.

HIS Presence in the Streets, made the Youth grave, and the Aged circumspect. It made the Sober to rejoice, and the Guilty to hide themselves in Corners. He seldom went to Church, but with a Multitude with him: For his House being distant from the Church the Length of a long Street, every one got their Families ready as he came by, and stood in their Doors, and so fell in with those that followed; so that he went with the Multitude to the House of GOD. And every one's Zeal seem'd inflam'd, by the Flame he beheld in his Neighbour: So that I have heard, that there was the most compos'd and affected Congregation that could any where be seen.

I MUST indeed lament the Fewness of those Years of mine which pass'd under his excellent Conduct. O! what a Blessing had such a Guide been to my Youth, when it came to any Dawnings of Understanding. But the good GOD who took him, has not left me nor my Relations comfortless. We now enjoy the Blessings of so happy a Descent, and of so many earnest Prayers laid up in Store for us. The LORD grant that we may not act unworthy of so good a Relation, but so tread in his Steps, that we may at last be Partakers with him in Glory.

HIS Sorrow for the Death of King Charles I. his lamenting for Want of a good Foundation in the Inter-Regnum; and his Joy at the Return of King Charles II. ought to be inserted; and also the Raptures of his Death.

THUS

THUS, Sir, I have complied with your Desire,  
not to give Materials for a Book, so much as to give  
some Hints to a Friend.

SIR,

Yours, &c.

*Joseph Woodward.*

☞ HE gave me my Name in Desire of Reforma-  
tion: And named my younger Brother Jeremiah,  
when he saw the little Hopes of it.

6 JY 64







THE  
L I F E  
O F  
NICHOLAS LEVERTON.

**M**R. NICHOLAS LEVERTON was born about the Year 1600, at *St. Wall* in *Cornwall*. His Parents were of the middle Rank, but such as provided him with the Means of a liberal Education at the Country Schools, and afterwards at *Exeter College* in *Oxford*. While he was there he was addicted rather to youthful Diversions than to his Studies. When he had taken the Degree of Batchelor of Arts, his Relations, no longer able to bear the Expence, recalled him from *Oxford*.

AT first he kept a little School near *Padslow* for his Subsistance. But being ordained, he went over to *Barbadoes*, and met with good Reception there; any Thing of Learning being a Rarity in those Parts. Tho' he had yet little Seriousness, yet he soon grew weary of their profligate Morals, and left *Barbadoes* upon an Opportunity that offered of going Chaplain to a Ship's Crew that designed to begin a Plantation at the Island of *Tobago*. By this Means he met with a Variety of remarkable Providences which God blest to awaken him to Seriousness. Some of these are certainly worth recording.

THEIR

THEIR Company safely reach the Island; part Land, and make a Booth for their Accommodation, of Poles, Boughs, and Palmeto-leaves, on the Shore, over against their Ship. Upon Search finding the Place agreeable, and discovering no *Indians*, they resolve to settle there. The Captain for this End, with half his Land-Company, determines to walk round the Island by the Sea-shore, to discover the most convenient Place for beginning their Settlement, among whom was Mr. *Leverton*. The Captain and two more go one Way, and direct the rest to march another, but meeting with Difficulties the latter return to their Booth, hoping their Captain would meet them there; but he and those with him never returned. In the Interim a double Calamity befalls those on Shore. The Long-boat by Carelesness was lost upon a Rock, and thereby their Communication with the Ship; and a great Rain falling, spoiled all the Powder they had landed. By Break of Day next Morning after their Return, some *Indians* attack'd their Booth; killed most of them with their Arrows, and wounded others; among the rest Mr. *Leverton* was wounded in the Head. But he with some others made a Shift to escape into the Woods.

THOSE in the Ship had discovered these *Indians* the Evening before making their Way to the Island in Canoes; and fired some Guns to give their Friends Notice: But unhappily they missed hearing them, and being without Apprehension of an Enemy kept no Watch; and when they discovered them, could not use their Fire-Arms. Mr. *Leverton* in his Flight losing a Shoe in the Woods, was left behind his Companions. In this Condition wearying himself without Success for many Hours, in endeavouring to recover Sight of the Ship, his Strength failed him; and being without Food or Cloaths,

(for he had stript himself to swim over a Bay) he laid himself down on a Grass-Plat expecting to die there. He spent the Night without Sleep in reviewing with Sorrow his past Life, and particularly his Ends in undertaking this Voyage; and that Scripture often occurred to his Mind, *What makest thou here, Elijah!* The Coldness of the Night benum'd his naked Body, and next Day the Heat was more intollerable, so that he began to faint away. In these Circumstances he unexpectedly discerns a Man making towards him, which proved to his great Joy to be one of his Companions, separated from the Company, and in quest of the Ship as well as he. He assures him, he must return the Way he came, if he would hope to find it.

REVIV'd with his Friends Arrival, and furnished with some of his Cloaths, Mr. *Leverton* and he march back. A third Straggler soon joins them, and they march together all Day. Towards Evening perceiving a Smoak, they made to it, and find it to be the Remains of a Fire which the *Indians* had made, where they lay before they fell upon their Booth. This Fire, by which they staid all Night, was thought to save their Lives. Marching next Morning towards the Sea, they find a fourth of their Company, but he being wounded in the Knee, and unable to go with them, they were forced to leave him behind.

At length, through divine Goodness, they spy the Ship, which made a strange Alteration in them: For now their Fear of the *Indians* increasing with their Hope of Deliverance, tho' they had been near three Days without Rest, or Sleep, or proper Food, and marched along so faintly, yet now they all run a swift Pace toward the Sea. Mr. *Leverton* and one more swam to their Ship. The other unable

able to swim, ran as far as he could into the Sea, keeping only his Head above Water for fear of the *Indians*, 'till those in the Ship sent and took him up in a pitiful Boat they had patched up. This Wound and Fatigue cost Mr. *Leverton* a dangerous Fit of Sicknefs, wherein his Life was despaired of for many Days. The Ship fired Signals to any alive on Shore to make to them, by which six or eight more of their Company were recovered. So this Adventure ended with the Loss of near half their Company.

NOT being able to return to *Barbadoes*, or any of our *English* Plantations on that Side, because of contrary Winds, they resolve to make to the *Isle of Providence*, which was 500 Leagues off, near the Line. And notwithstanding many Fears and Difficulties, they had a prosperous Voyage, and a welcome Reception from their Countrymen there. Many of the Inhabitants were such as upon a Dis-satisfaction with the *English* Hierarchy had left their native Country, and settled there, as others did in *New-England*. They had but one Minister among them, Mr. *Sherwood*, who was also not satisfied with Conformity. Yet some of the Inhabitants were for the *English* Ceremonies, and upon Mr. *Leverton's* Arrival would have had him minister to them in their own Way. Hitherto he had never considered the Controversy; but his Impressions of Religion were such as the general Custom of his Country and Education had made. But now being made very serious by the remarkable Providences he had met with, and finding Mr. *Sherwood* a pious Person, he was disposed to hear his Reasons; which induced him heartily to fall in with him in the same way. During his Stay at *Providence*, the *Spaniards* made an Assault upon the Island, but were repulsed with consider-



able Loss, Mr. *Leverton* with great Courage continuing all the while on the Shore to animate the People.

At length the Governor leaving the Island, a Difference arose in the Colony. He named his Successor, but the People pleading a Right by Charter to chuse their own Governor, fixed a Person of their own Nomination in that Station, one Captain *Lane*. But the other privately arming some of the ruder Sort, seized *Lane* and both the Ministers, and sent them Prisoners to *England*, with an Information against them to Archbishop *Laud*.

WHEN they arrive here, the State of Things was changed, and *Laud* in Custody of the Black-Rod. They are kindly received by the Lords-Patentees, or Proprietors of the Island, and encouraged to return. Mr. *Sherwood*, the other Minister, of a timorous Temper, chose to stay here. But Captain *Lane* and Mr. *Leverton* returned, plentifully furnished for their Voyage, and authorized with a new Commission. At their Approach to the Island, they find the *Spaniards* had seized it in their Absence.

AFTER this they continued in those Seas for two Years, and saw many of God's Wonders in the Deep, too many here to be particularly related. They had many Preservations, almost miraculous from Famine, from the *Spaniards*, and in violent Storms. Twice they lost their Ship, and were providentially taken up, once by a *Frenchman*, and another Time by a *Dutchman*, and both times set a float again in a *Spanish* Pink made Prize. For these two Years Mr. *Leverton* declared he met not with one Bit of Bread. At length they resolve to return Home, and by the Assistance of a *French* Vessel

Vessel arrive safe at *St. Christopher's*; and thence Captain *Lane* and some of the Men proceeded directly to *England*.

Mr. *Leverton* and some others inclined to settle there; but finding the Dissoluteness of the Place, and seeing little Hope of doing Good among them, after four or five Months Trial, he took the Opportunity of a *French Frigate* to return to *Europe*. But in this Voyage he met with one of his greatest Dangers. A dead Calm continuing long at Sea, all their Victuals were spent. For many Days they had but eight Spoonfuls of Pease, and a Pint of Water per Man. The Captain and Mr. *Leverton* contented themselves with the same Allowance. This lasted so long till they were all black with Famine, and had their Bellies shrunk to their Back. He every Day, Morning and Evening, called the *English* together, prayed with them and instructed them, and with the more Success when they were in such melancholy Circumstances. The *French* were most Protestants, and would join with them as well as they could. At length upon keeping a Day of solemn Prayer, no sooner was it ended; but they discovered a Ship; and upon making towards it, found it an *English Merchant* bound for *Bermudas*, who took all the *English* into his Ship, and plentifully supplied the *French* for their Voyage Home. On board this Ship was the Governor of *Bermudas*, who acquainted Mr. *Leverton*, upon Converse with him, that the Ship's coming there at that time was by a very uncommon Providence; But I perceive, says he, Mr. *Leverton*, it was all in God's great Favour to you.

THEY soon arrived safe at *Bermudas*, where the Governor and he went into a Long-boat, and were met at their landing by the Governor's Lady,

dy, and a young Gentlewoman of the Country, whom he soon after married. Here he preached with great Acceptance for about a Year: But having a Fit of Sickneſs, and not perfectly recovering his Health, it was thought adviſeable he ſhould return to *England*, and try his native Air.

ARRIVING at the *Downs*, he lands at *Sandwich*; where as he was taking Horſe for *London*, the Oſtler ſays to him, *Mr. you are ſomewhat like our Mi- niſter; I believe you have lived in the hot Countries as well as he.* Upon Enquiry he found it to be his old Colleague *Mr. Sherwood*, who was ſettled there: Which brought them to an Interview again to their mutual Joy.

COMING to *London* he was received with great Honour and Reſpect, by the Lords-Proprietors of the *Iſland of Providence*, and ſoon after ſettled Mi- niſter of *Higb-Henningham* in *Suffolk*; where he ſent for his Wife, and had his firſt Child, which he called *Gerſhom*, for the ſame Reaſon that *Moses* called his ſo; for he ſaid, *I have been a Stranger in a ſtrange Land.*

AFTER ſome Years abode in *Suffolk*, *Mr. Anthony Nicols*, one of the eleven excluded Members, who had formerly known him in the University, took him down with him into *Cornwall*, and ſettled him at *St. Tudy*, the Pariſh wherein his own Houſe ſtood. Here he lived nine or ten Years, ſignally uſeful in ſettling ſome that were inclined to ſond Opinions, and awakening many out of their carnal Security; kept up a weekly Lecture there on *Thurſdays*, with the Aſſiſtance of his neighbouring Brethren, which was well attended by the Gentlemen thereabouts.

UPON

UPON the King's coming in, he was not only ejected, but met with farther Troubles. The former Incumbent of *St. Tudy* had been sequestred a Year or two before Mr. *Leverton* settled there, but died before the Change. My Lord *Mohun*, the Patron, was solicited to continue Mr. *Leverton*, but in vain, for he presented his Chaplain to the Living, who treated him harshly: And on Pretence of Dilapidations would have seized his Goods; but that was prevented by the Kindness of the People, who bought them, and carried them off. After this my Lord *Mohun* prosecuted him for the main Profits, ever since he was in Possession, and would not accept of any Composition within the Compass of his Ability. This necessitated him to secure himself by absconding.

My Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* being appointed Governor of *Surinam*, Mr. *Oxenbridge*, a Minister at *London*, that had been acquainted with him at *Bermudas*, sent him an Offer of going Minister there; which, with the Advice of his Friends, he accepted. After long Expectation of a Ship at *Plymouth*, which was to convey him and his Family over, it came at length, and safely carried him thither. But after he had been there a few Weeks, and seemingly fixed to his Satisfaction, he died. Thus ended the troublesome and unsettled Life of this good Man.







THE  
LIFE and DEATH  
OF  
Sir NATHANAEL BARNARDISTON.

**H**E was born in *Suffolk*, in one thousand five hundred eighty and eight, a Year that ever deserves to be writ in Letters of Gold.

HE derived his Pedigree from an ancient Family, containing no small Number of noble Ancestors. He was the twenty third Knight, lineally descended of that Family, which still enjoys the Paternal Estate they had before the Conquest.

THE LORD enabled him to *Remember his Creator in the Days, of his Youth*, by casting in the Seed of *Regeneration* when he was at School. Where living more innocently than for the most Part young Gentlemen do, upon a Time hearing that of the *Psalmist* opened, *Psal. li. 5. Behold, I was shapen in Iniquity, and in Sin did my Mother conceive me*: The Greatness and Odiousness of *Original Sin* being demonstrated and pressed home, it pleased the LORD so deeply to affect his Conscience thereby, that in the whole following Course of his Life, from that very  
Time



Time it was a Means to abase all high Thoughts of himself, and to make him lie down at the Footstool of GOD in the mournful Sense of his own Emptiness and Vileness; yea, he was more solidly and constantly humbled and broken for it, than for all the Fruits of it, which every Day appear by actual Transgressions in the Lives of the most, yet by this Means was happily prevented in him.

SOME Time after, he heard one preach on the Gospel, as it is the Law of Faith, held forth unto him on 1 John iii. 23. *This is his Commandment, that we should believe on the Name of his Son Jesus Christ.* From which Place was happily urged by him that preached, That in the Gospel there was not only granted a Liberty to believe in *Christ*, if we pleased, but a Necessity imposed, that requireth us to believe, whether we will or no. It pleased the LORD by this Doctrine so to overpower his Heart, that he durst not refuse, but submitted unto it; and so his Confidence, or Foundation of his Faith was exercised in pure Obedience to GOD.

In order to give some Account of his Life, I shall set before you,

1. His Personal Capacity as a Man.
2. His Publick Capacity, as a Magistrate or Statesman.
3. His Relative Capacity, belonging to his Family.
4. His Religious Capacity, belonging to God and the Church.

1. *For his Personal Capacity as a Man.* The Make of his Body even from Head to Foot was competently genteel and brave; his Soul was comprehensive, vigorous, great and active; his Presence and

and Aspect pleasant, yet grave, and often striking Reverence and Awe into the Minds of such as looked upon him; especially, such as came before him when he was exercising the Office of a Magistrate. I may say of his, as was said of *Basil's* Countenance, whilst he was performing holy Exercises, namely, That so much divine Majesty and Lustre appeared therein, that it made the Emperor *Valens* tremble to behold it. And in like Manner this most exact and holy Gentleman's severe Deportment was so effectual, that it banished from his Presence all those scurrilous Gestures and Practices, which the Debauchery and Impudence of too many of considerable Degree fear not to act in the Sight of God and their Betters.

As there were none more flexible and complying than himself to the most easy Desires of those who were just, honest, and good, be they of the lowest Rank of Men; so on the other Side, there was none could put on a braver Obstinacy than he would do, to the most lofty Commands, or most zealous Importunities, even of the greatest Men, if what was urged was unjust, or against his happy Rule of Life, the Word of God.

2. *For his Publick Capacity as a Magistrate, or Statesman.*

As he was Justice of the Peace, he was exceeding active and useful; he ever exercised Justice in its own due Time and Way; he never befriended the Great to the Prejudice of those that were little or mean in the World; he ever held the Balance of Justice in an even Hand, and acted as impartially, as if all that came before him had neither had Interest in him, nor any Acquaintance at all; he was not only a *Terror to Evil-doers, but a Praise to*

*all that did well* ; by this Means making Religion and Justice grow round about him.

WHEN he was High Sheriff (which he was in the twenty-first Year of the Reign of King *James*) he was to GOD, his King, and the Country for which he served, one of the most exact that ever bore that Office. One Passage here I must not let slip : As serving of GOD was one principal Business in every Place he was employed in through his Life ; so here, though he neglected no Business that belonged to his present Office, yet he had a special Care to have GOD faithfully served, and that even in the Week-day, taking with him his Sheriff's Men to a weekly Lecture at some Distance from his House ; thereby dignifying that Office at an higher Rate than usually is performed.

HE was also usually placed in the high Trust of a Parliament-man, for he was constantly chosen on every Occasion as a Knight for his own native Country ; which Trust he received not out of any Ambition to advance his own Greatness, nor out of any Self-end to raise his own Estate, by exhausting the publick Treasury ; but out of a Mind and Conscience devoted to the Service of the Church and Commonwealth ; beyond which neither Fear, Favour, nor Flattery, could draw him to act or vote at all, absolutely refusing to defile himself by any Miscarriage, let the Inducement or Temptation be whatsoever.

FOR his Country, and the Defence of the just Rights and Liberties thereof, he did not refuse to expose himself to a Gulph of Hazards and Sufferings ; witness his suffering under the Imposition of Ship-money, Coat and Conduct-Money, and the Loan ; for refusing whereof, he was a long Time

imprisoned in the *Gate-House*, and afterwards confined for a longer Time in *Lincolnshire*, above six-score Miles from his own Abode.

### 3. FOR *his Relative Capacity* :

HERE he was really what became a good and holy Man ; both as Inferior and Superior.

1. As an Inferior towards his Father, and Grandfather ; where he did in every Thing answer that Relation he stood in to them. So that he knew as well how to honour, serve, and obey, as to command, cherish, and love. He enjoyed his Father a less Time than his Grandfather ; but we may gather what his Carriage to him was, from the Value he set upon his Memory ; he used to please himself to discourse of his Father, affirming that he was a very godly Man, and that it was a great Disadvantage for him to part with him so young : These Things he would often declare to his Children, dropping many Tears ; and when he made his Will, he there expressed an importunate Desire that the Bones of his Father might be digged out of the Earth, where they were buried, and laid by his own Body in a new Vault, he ordered his Executors to erect for the same Purpose ; thus, though he could not live with his Father as long as he would have desired, yet he designed that their Bodies or Relicks should lie together till the happy Resurrection. And all the Days of his Grandfather's Life, he was ever endeavouring to do him Good, and help him in any of his Affairs, all which he did with great Humility, Respect, and Honour.

2. As



2. *As a Superior ; and first as an Husband :*

HE seemed here to imitate the Practice of the Lord Jesus towards his Church, in his conjugal Love, Protection, and full Delight, untill he became a Pattern of matrimonial Sweetness and Faithfulness.

A FATHER he was also; and what Manner of one his Children have declared in their Hearts, Lives, and filial Deportments; they have always affirmed that he ever performed not only the Part of an earthly Father, in the due Discovery of all tender Affection to their Bodies, but also performed the Office of an heavenly Father to their Souls, by a constant Endeavour, and serious Study for their Education in the most strict Way of pure and paternal Religion; one Testimonial of which was his continual bestowing on them spiritual Counsels and gracious Instructions, the grand End of which was to incite them to a strict Watchfulness over themselves, and a close Walking with God; and it was usual with him, after the giving such Instructions unto them severally, to take them into his Closet, and there pray over them and for them. If at any Time they had displeased him, so excellent was his Moderation and Wisdom towards them, that he would never correct them, nay, not so much as reprove them in his Displeasure; but still waited the most cool and convenient Time, wherein they seldom discovered that he was angry, by any other Effect but his Silence. And, on the other Side, he was so ready to encourage them in any Acts of well-doing, that for the most Part his extraordinary Respects and Favours towards them, were bestowed rather under the Notion of Rewards of their Duty, than the Issues of Bounty; still professing before them (as he usually did to his Friends upon

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their discoursing concerning the extraordinary Blessings of GOD upon them in their Travels abroad, and their Returns home again. "That he took infinitely more Content in beholding one Grain of Grace, and Evidence of true Regeneration in his Children, than if their Estates and Gains abroad had been multiplied an hundred Fold." If withal they had come back again prophane, or no more than meerly civilized, without the Power of Godliness, he was ever a kind and dear Father for Affections and Wishes, for Advice and Prayers; and for numerous Letters constantly sent to his Children.

In his Will he exhorts them all, "To fear GOD and love one another; and that, if any Difference happened amongst them, as ever they bore any Duty or Love to him, or as they would expect the like from their own Children, they would leave all such Differences to the Arbitrement of the rest of their Brethren, and would stand to their Award."

HE was also a wise and careful Grandfather, not only instructing these little Relations while he lived, but also using Endeavours to command them to be good, honest, and obedient when he was dead; as appears by what he left under his Hand in his last Will, where he bequeaths them several Legacies, but with this Proviso, "That if any of them would not be ruled by their Parents, it should be in the Power of their Parents to lessen or take away what he had left them, first giving it under their Hands to his Executors."

4. WE are to consider him in his religious Capacity; in which he was no less excellent than in any of those that went before.

HERE

HERE we may, first, see with how much Piety he exercised himself towards GOD; he ever lived and acted with such a reverential Awe, and most devout Respect towards the Almighty, that his Life seemed little else but one entire Series of Devotion. Yea, we may a little see what he was in particular Duties of Religion; and here, whether we instance in secret or publick Exercises, he did so earnestly devote himself unto them, that for my Part (saith a godly Divine that was his close Observer) amongst Persons of his Quality, I think he hath left very few Superiors behind him, if any Equals.

1. *IN Private Duties.*

IT was his constant Practice to pour out his Soul before the LORD in secret thrice every Day, and sometimes oftener, if he could get Opportunity; besides his Family Duties, and Days of extraordinary Humiliation, which he embraced on every Occasion. Nay, his constant Converse with single Persons was so divine, as to merit a Place among his private Duties to GOD; for his Speech consisted of nothing but Love, Sweetness, and Modesty; all his Discourse ever ministred Grace unto the Hearers, it was a pure Stream from the pure Fountain of his Heart.

2. *IN Publick Duties.*

IF we begin with his Sanctification of the Sabbath, he rose early every Day, but more early on the LORD's Day, so that usually he was the first up in the Family; then called his Children and others, that they might have sufficient Time to prepare themselves for a more reverent and devout Attendance upon the LORD in his publick Ordinances; and for himself, he usually spent much Time every Sabbath Morning, before he came to the Congregation.

HIS Value of, and constant Attendance upon, the Ministration of the Word publickly dispensed, shewed him so eminent, and zealously concerned, and taken up therein, that it was difficult for any to out-do him. What the Apostle *James* requires was his punctual Practice, that is, He was swift to hear; he could never satisfy his Conscience, if he was not present to join with the Congregation before there was one Word spoken, or one Petition sent up to the LORD; his Unweariedness in this Course while he lived, was always visible to them of those Congregations where he resided.—The Congregation being dismissed, the first Thing which he did usually, after he came within his own Doors, was immediately to betake himself to his Closet, to beg a blessed Dew from Heaven, to water the Seed sown in his Heart that Day.

HIS Preparation for the LORD's Supper was transcendent; for the most Part he spent all the Time he could redeem in a Fortnight before the Sacrament, in his Closet, in Reading, Praying, and Examination of his spiritual State, with other Duties of Preparation tending thereunto; and what he practised himself in this Kind, he constantly called upon others under him to do the like. We shall presently see further how eminent he was in preparing for the Sacrament, as also in advancing publick Catechising under the next Head; which is, in the second Place,

To consider him in his Religious Capacity, belonging to the Church of GOD; in which we shall see his Worth, if we seriously weigh the following Particulars.

1. HIS warm Love and Affection to an holy Ministry. They who were faithful in this Function, had not of his Quality a more faithful and hearty Friend and Well-wisher in the whole World;



World; none so earnestly and frequently prayed for them, none so highly prized their Calling and Labours as he did; he was fully of that good Man's Mind, who openly professed, *He had rather fall with the Ministry of England, than stand in greatest Power with their Enemies.* When some talked of mortal bloody Times, and dark, black Days a coming upon us, he replied, *That those would be accounted dark black Days indeed, when the Lights of the Ministry were extinguished.*

2. His extraordinary Care to present to every Living where he was Patron, such as were well qualified and holy Men.

WHEN any Place belonging to his Gift was vacant, he would spend many Days in Fasting and Prayer to invite the Direction of GOD, to guide his bestowing thereof; professing many Times, "That his Spirit did more tremble to set his Hand and Seal to a Presentation, than to any other Writing or Deed whatsoever; lest, said he, I should thereby bring the Loss of the Peoples Souls to be required of me or my Posterity, through my Negligence." And therefore when by all his own Care, and Advice of Friends, such an one could not be procured, as for Sufficiency and Abilities would give Satisfaction to the Conscience of this rare Patron, then he left it wholly to the better Sort of the People in that Place, to chuse their own Minister.

3. His doing all he could to draw his Neighbours to the Life, Power, and universal Practice of Religion.

HE always heartily joined with his Minister, Mr. Fairclough, in every Design that might advance Holiness; nay, engaged himself to do all Things that could be proposed for that End. I will hear  
mention

mention two excellent Practices of his tending directly to it ; the first was about Catechizing, the other the Supper of our LORD.

As to Catechizing, he saw it was so necessary for old People as well as young, in order to the obtaining saving Knowledge, that he proposed it to the Heads of the Families in the Town and Parish of *Ketton*, both Rich and Poor, " That when the Children or Servants were catechised, if they could not give Answer at any Time to the Question asked, the Father or Master should answer for them, engaging that he would do the like for his Children or Servants." Having laid out some Time, and several importunate Arguments, he prevailed to the setting up of this Practice, which by his Example succeeded well, and was of admirable Advantage to the informing of ignorant Minds, and the building up them and others in the most holy Faith.

As to the Sacrament of the Supper of our LORD, here he did all he could to assist the Minister in hindering the openly Wicked from participating of this holy Ordinance; in order hereunto, he agreed with the rest of those that were to communicate, " That publicly he and they should declare their owning the Baptismal Covenant : " Accordingly he did himself begin this holy Undertaking, and before all the Communicants, did declare, his Faith in GOD through our LORD *Jesus Christ*, and did undertake, through the Assistance of the Holy Spirit, to perform whatsoever his Sureties had promised in his Baptism upon his Account ; " in which he was imitated by all others that communicated ; which kept the Profane from meddling with that sacred Action, they being fully convinced of the Reasonableness of the Practice. This surely was doing what  
he

he could to advance the Life, Power, and universal Practice of Religion ; so was also,

4. His constant Commemorating and Rejoicing in the Deliverances of the Church.

ALTHOUGH his Practice was herein universal, and did contain his abundant Joy in the Success and Deliverances of the Churches abroad, in any Part of the World ; yet we shall confine his Actings to our own Church in this Nation. He did annually commemorate the thrice happy Day of Queen *Elizabeth's* Inaguration ; to the glorious rescuing the Reformed Religion from the bloody Designs of the Papists. He also did every Year observe the Fifth of *November*, with all becoming Expressions of Joy.

I HAVE but mentioned something of his Graces and Excellencies, for divers are omitted wherein he was as eminent as in any I have named. I instance in one, "His Charity to the Poor ;" he did cloath and feed a great number of those that dwelt round about him, constantly, Year by Year, while he lived, and left them Legacies in several Parishes when he died ; yea, so extensive was his Heart in the Practice of Charity, that it reached even as far as the Poor in *New-England*, whose Necessities he did highly commiserate and supply.

THUS much for his Life, and lastly for his Death, in which we shall find six Things remarkable.

I. His Preparation for it at some Distance.

II. His welcoming the Messenger thereof when it drew near.

III. His

III. His unwillingness, even then to be absent from Holy Ordinances and Exercifes.

IV. His fervent Performance of such Duties as he was capable of.

V. His excellent farewell Advice to his Children.

VI. His peaceable and joyful Departure.

I. His Preparation for Death at some Distance.

HE was unwilling to be surprized, and therefore endeavoured for several Years before it came to be ready; but especially for two Years before, he was ever thinking of, and fitting for it: Then he made his last Will upon this very Ground, as he there expresseth, that after he had set his House in Order, he might have nothing in the World to look after, or to look upon, but his blessed Saviour, and Salvation by him. In which last Testament, he discovers so much Assurance and Confidence of the LORD's everlasting Grace and Love unto him, as if at the same Time he had embraced the Lord Jesus in his Arms. As in the Beginning of his Will he heartily begs the Guidance of GOD to direct him in the wise Disposal of what Divine Goodness had bestowed upon him; so in several other Places he doth annex so many heavenly Counsels, and precious Instructions, tending to the everlasting Inheritance of his Posterity. It was observed of him, That after his Will was finished, he seemed to have little to do, but to be gone to the better World, being so much at Ease, as if he had wholly done with this World.

II. His



II. His welcoming the Messenger of Death, when it drew near.

HE did not then, according to the Method of most, seem averse to be gone, but was heartily ready; for as soon as ever there appeared on his Side a small Swelling, in which none but himself conceived any Danger, he being then at *Hackney*, did send fifty Miles for Mr. *Fairclough*, his Minister, to discourse him; and taking him to walk with him, presently fell to Conference, of the Worth and Immortality of the Soul, of the Manner of its Subsistence and Actings, when it was separated, of the Joys of the other World, and the Vanity and Emptiness of all Things in this, as being most suitable to his present Condition; and herewith he was so deeply and spiritually affected, that at their parting he expressed himself in the following Manner to Mr. *Fairclough*.

“SIR, I now much wonder that any Man that fully believes these Things to be Realities, and not meer Notions, should be unwilling to die; for my own Part, I will not be so flattered, as to be desirous to live longer in the World, where there is little Hope left that the LORD hath any more Work for me to do, except it be to suffer for keeping a good Conscience, in witnessing against the Apostasies and Impieties of the Times; and now it is a great Favour of GOD to be sent for speedily. After this, being removed to *London*, for greater Convenience of Physicians, he there made the same Profession of his Desire to be dissolved, and be with *Christ*.”

III. His Unwillingness even then to be absent from holy Ordinances and Exercises.

His

HIS Pains and Weakness growing so fast upon him that he was thereby hindered the Enjoyment, first, of publick Ordinances in the Church, and presently after of those that were in the Family; this was the greatest Grief that burdened his Mind. One Sabbath Morning observing the People of the Family where he lodged, getting themselves ready to join with the Congregation belonging to that Place, he fell into a great Passion of Sorrow, and wept very much, because he had gone with the Multitude, and led them to the House of GOD, but now was necessitated to want the Benefit of that which his Soul so much thirsted after. — Again, The Week before he died, he was persuaded in respect of the Extremity of his Pain, once or twice to go to Bed before Family Prayers; but the Night following, being again persuaded to it, he told them, ‘ He would not be intreated to do so any more, for he said, ‘ He was sure that he slept the worse those Nights for the want of it.’

IV. *His most fervent Performance of such Holy Duties as he was capable of.*

BECAUSE he could not enjoy those that were publick, he therefore gave up himself the more earnestly to the Exercise of secret Reading the Scripture, Meditation and Prayer, so long as his Strength would hold out; but one Wave followed another so fast, that he was disabled thereby to be so frequent and constant in those secret Duties as he desired; for which he made many Complaints to his Sons, and others, as they came about him.

V. *His excellent Advice to his Children.*

THE Day before his Death, his Children being about him, after he had blessed them all, and put up his Prayers to Heaven for them, he gave them his last Advice in four Particulars. First, he admonished them to take Heed of Worldliness and vain Glory. Secondly, he perswaded them to live in Love and Unity together; yet so as they should ever count it their Duty to watch over one another, and never be afraid to tell one another of their Faults lovingly. Thirdly, That they should take Heed of Timorousness, and shrinking from the Truth, by reason of the Oppositions of the Times against the Power of Godliness. Fourthly, he commended them unto the Word of God's Grace, and the Word of Grace unto them: Requiring them to be constant in reading the Scriptures, and to join Prayer thereto for a Blessing before and after.

AFTER these Counsels, one of his Sons, (telling him how much he hoped the Words of a dying Father would be regarded by them) desired him to deal impartially with each of them, and discover unto them what Evils he had noted each of them most prone unto, and what Duties he had observed many of them most negligent in; he did perform what was desired with so much Plainness, that one of his Brothers standing by, desired him to use the same Fidelity to him, which accordingly he did.

VI. *His peaceable and joyful Departure out of the World.*

HE enjoyed before his Death, even to the last, such an abundant Peace and ravishing Joy, as could not be hid, his Soul being so filled therewith, that it even overflowed, and poured upon all those that enquired after his Condition. This appeared, first,

to his second Son, who observing him to grow faint, did desire him to be chearful; to whom he answered, "Son, I thank the LORD, I am so chearful in my Heart, that I could laugh whilst my Sides ache." Then to his Brother, enquiring how he found himself, he answered, "O Brother, blessed be GOD, I have Abundance of ravishing Joy within me."—The same Answer he gave to his eldest Son, who enquiring how it was with him? He presently fell into an earnest Prayer, "That the LORD would be pleased to give him an happy Deliverance out of this World, and a glorious Meeting with his Saviour." Which Prayer of his was so graciously answered, that as long as he enjoyed any Use of Speech, he acknowledged the Sense of this inward Joy; and after he had said, "I have Peace within, I have Peace within," he spake no more, but lying for a while, as it were in a Slumber, at last he opened his Eyes again, and lifting up his Hands towards Heaven, fell asleep in the LORD.

He left the Miserable, and went to the Happy World, on the 25th of *July*, in the Year 1653, when he had lived full threescore and five Years.







THE  
LIFE and DEATH

OF

Mr. SAMUEL FAIRCLOUGH.

SAMUEL FAIRCLOUGH was born April 29, 1594, at *Haverill*, an ancient Market-Town in *Suffolk*: His Father, Mr. *Lawrence Fairclough*, was a Branch of that very ancient Family in *Lancashire*; from whence he was sent to the University of *Cambridge*, and thence removed to be Incumbent at *Haverill*, where he lived an able and worthy Preacher of the Gospel for many Years.

His good Father having preached a Sermon of Thanksgiving for the coming in of King *James*, in the Year 1603, caught so great a Cold by it that he died the next Day, leaving this Son then but nine Years old.

THERE were many Pledges of a great and good Mind discerned in this Child when very young, which his Father perceived; but more especially a Desire to study, and a Love to search after Knowledge:

ledge: And accordingly his Father, upon his Death-bed, laid a particular Command on his Mother to breed this Son a Scholar, and advised he should be educated under one Mr. *Rebotam*, the most famous School-master of that Age.

BEFORE he was fourteen Years of Age, he was sent to the University, with this Testimony from his Master, That he was the best Scholar that ever went from that School, whereof he had been Master near thirty Years.

THIS could not but be a great Comfort to his Mother; but there was something of another Kind, which rejoiced her much more; and it was this, that GOD was pleased to begin a Work of Grace in his Heart very early, by awakening his Conscience by the Terrors of the Law, and by bestowing a sincere Repentance upon him thereby, and by working an effectual Faith in him; and all this done by the Ministry of the Word preached by Mr. *Samuel Ward*, then Lecturer of *Haverill*: Mr. *Ward* had answered for him in his Baptism, and had always an hearty Love to him; who preaching one LORD's Day upon *Zaccheus's* Conversion, and discoursing upon *Zaccheus's* four-fold Restitution in case of Rapine and Extortion, he used that frequent Expression, *Non dimittitur peccatum nisi restituatur ablatum*; that is, no Man can expect Pardon from GOD of the Wrong done to another's Estate, except he makes full Restitution to the wronged Person.

THIS was a Dart directed by the Hand of GOD to the Heart of our young School-Boy; who, together with one *John Trigg*, afterwards a famous Physician in *London*, had the very Week before robbed

robbed the Orchard of one *Goodman Jude*, of that Town.

AT and after Sermon he mourned much, and took not any Sleep all the Night following; and early on the *Monday* Morning he went to his Companion *Trigg*, and told him, that he was then going to *Goodman Jude's*, to carry him twelve Pence, by way of Restitution, for three Penny-worth of Pears, of which he had wronged him: *Trigg* fearing that if the Thing were confessed to *Goodman Jude*, *Jude* would acquaint Mr. *Robotham* therewith, and that Correction would follow, did earnestly strive to divert this poor Child from his Purpose of Restitution; but *Fairclough* replied, that God would not pardon the Sin except Restitution was made. To which *Trigg* answered thus, Thou talkest like a Fool, *Sam*, God will forgive us ten Times, sooner than old *Jude* will forgive us once. But our *Samuel* was of another Mind, and therefore he goes on to *Jude's* House, and there told him his Errand, and offered him a Shilling; which *Goodman Jude* refusing, altho' he declared the Forgiveness of the Wrong, yet the Youth's Wound smarted the more thereby, so that he could get no Rest untill he went to Mr. *Ward*, and opened to him the whole State of his Soul, both upon the Account of this particular Sin and many others, and most especially, the Sin of Sins, the original Sin of his Nature. Mr. *Ward* received him with great Affection, and proved the good *Samaritan* to him, pouring Wine and Oil into his Wounds, answering all his Questions, satisfying his Fears, and preached *Jesus* to him so fully and effectually, that he dedicated and devoted himself to his Saviour and Redeemer all the Days of his Life after.

BEING designed for *Cambridge*, he was recommended by a Friend of his, one Mr. *Allington*, to Mr. *Berry*, a Fellow of *Queen's-College*, to whom he went; and having delivered Mr. *Allington's* Letter, he begged Leave to speak a few Words to him; and then informed him that he was the Son of a worthy Divine, who died five Years before; that he had continued at School ever since, and that his elder Brethren had carried away almost all his Father's Estate with them into the *Low Countries*, so that he had but little to spend, and not any Thing to recommend him to a Tutor, but the Knowledge he had obtained in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, and a chearful Observance of the Commands of any Gentleman who would make Trial thereof. He added, that it might seem a great Piece of Impudence that a poor Boy should thus address himself to so reverend a Person; but it was the Report which Mr. *Allington* had given of his Kindness, that made him hope now to find Charity there, where many other Persons had experienced so much Goodness at all Times.

Mr. *BERRY*, who was in Truth a very kind and good Man, was mightily pleased to see a Youth deliver himself so humbly, and yet so freely; he therefore first posed him himself in all School-Authors, both *Latin* and *Greek*, and finding him a perfect Master of both those Languages, he told him, that if Dr. *Tindall*, the Master of the College, would approve of him, he should then be admitted into the College, and he sent him to the Doctor accordingly; who had no sooner made Trial of him, but he did also greatly approve of him.

BUT there was yet a mighty Difficulty in the Way; for there was not one Study empty in the whole College, and for want thereof many Scholars



lars had been rejected that Year: But Mr. *Berry* would not upon this Account reject him, but he set up a Bed in his own Chamber for him, and gave him Liberty to study there 'till another Study should become void.

He had not been above two Years in the College before *Spencer*, LORD *Compton*, eldest Son of *William*, Earl of *Northampton*, was designed for the University, and for that College also. The Earl would needs have his Son to have two Tutors, whereof one or other might always be with him: Dr. *Towers*, afterwards Bishop of *Peterborough*, was chosen by the Earl for his Head-Tutor, and the Earl wrote to Dr. *Tindall* to provide a Sub-tutor, who might converse with the young Lord, and take care of him as often as Dr. *Towers* was absent. The Master was then at his Deanry of *Ely*, with some Fellows of the College, where he received the Earl's Letter, which he had no sooner done, but he concluded with himself that this *Fairclough* would be a most fit Person for this Place. The next Day therefore he sent for him to *Ely*, and told him that he must write immediately a *Latin* Letter to the Earl, and offer his Service to the young Lord his Son. The Task was very difficult for so young a Person to undertake, but the Employment was honourable and profitable, and thereby also a Door of Preferment was certainly opened for the future. All which Dr. *Tindall* did intimate to him, and then left him to compose such a Letter, whilst himself and the Fellows that were with him went to Dinner in another Room; where they had not fully dined before the Letter was sent in finished. Mr. *Preston*, afterwards the renowned Dr. *Preston*, was one of the Fellows then at Dinner. The Dean and the whole Company were amazed when they read the Letter, both for the Manliness of the Sense, the Rich-

Richness of the Fancy, and the Elegancy of the *Latin*: But Mr. *Preston* discerned especially the Seriousness, Sobriety, and Piety, that breathed in every Line; and from that Time he received this young Man into intimate Familiarity with himself.

THE Epistle was sent by the Doctor to the Earl, who having read it, and observed much Accuracy therein, did rejoice that his Son should converse with, and in many Things be guided by such a Scholar, who did manifestly appear learned, grave, and prudent beyond his Years. The next Day therefore, after the Receipt of the Letter, there were many rich Goods and much Furniture sent to this Lad to take care of, and Orders were given him further to furnish the Chambers with every thing that should be wanting. There were several Trunks sent also full of rich Cloaths, and much Money; the Keys of all which were delivered to him, with Notice that the Earl's Son would be at the College in about three Weeks. This was done, because the Earl afterwards acknowledged, that he did hereby make Trial of the Scholar's Temper, both as to his Faithfulness, and also as to his Discretion.

THE Earl coming and finding all Things that were sent taken good Care of, and all the Money secured, and all Things necessary provided, he declared not only his present Satisfaction, but his great Confidence, that his Son would be under excellent Government, both as to his Civil and also as to all his Moral Concerns; the Earl therefore putting two broad Pieces into this Sub-tutor's Hands, told him that he had made Trial of his Prudence and Faithfulness in his Stewardship about smaller Matters, and now he believed that he might safely

trust

trust him in greater Concerns, and therefore he would commit the richest Jewel, and the greatest Treasure he had in the World to the Oversight of Doctor *Towers* and himself; but, in Truth, the greatest Care lay upon the Shoulders of the Sub-tutor, in as much as Doctor *Towers* was much out of Town, and the Sub-tutor being constantly with him, had the fairest Opportunities to forewarn him of Evil, and to reprove him for any Miscalriage; which he always did with that great Prudence, deep Humility, and apparent Affection, that the young Lord loved him as his Brother, and valued his Words as an Oracle.

ABOUT this Time did King *James I.* came to *Cambridge*, and promised to give the University a second Visit within a short Time: The Heads therefore resolved to welcome the King's second Coming with a Comedy, namely, with that famous one called *Ignoramus*, and thereupon the greatest Wits were selected to be Actors therein, among which the Lord *Compton* was pitched upon for one, and his Sub-tutor designed for another; but it so happened, that *that* Part which was to be acted by the Sub-tutor, who was but little and of low Stature, was that of *Surda*, an old Woman, and it required him to be cloathed in Woman's Apparel, which had an Appearance of Evil in it, as the young Man thought, which by the Apostle's Rule was to be avoided: He therefore went to the Vice-Chancellor, desiring to be excused from acting that or any other Part; the Vice-Chancellor told him, that he was unwise, for by his acting he would become known to the Court, and by acting well he would gain the King's Favour immediately, and get Preferment in a short Time. To which the young Scholar replied, that he judged it unlawful for a Man to wear Women's Apparel. The Vice-Chan-

Chancellor at first laughed at him, and argued the Point a while with him, but met with some such Arguments at last as turned his Smile into a Frown: So that the Contest between the Vice-Chancellor and him had proceeded higher, had not the Lord *Compton* offered, that he would act his own Part, which was that of *Vince*, a Page, and his Sub-tutor's Part also.

THUS did this Youth chuse to lose the Smiles of the Court, and to bear the Frowns of the Vice-Chancellor, rather than to hazard the Loss of the Light of God's Countenance, or to endure the least Lash of his own Conscience.

AFTER he had taken his Degree, the Earl of *Northampton* designing to send his Son beyond Sea, wrote to him, offering him the Privilege of travelling with his Son into *France* and *Italy*; but his Answer was, That so far as he had Power over himself, he did most thankfully accept of the Offer, but he was not his own, he had a Mother yet alive whose Content he sought, and preferred above his own, with whom he would first advise, and then return a speedy Answer.

HIS Mother being consulted with, made an Answer something like that of *Jacob* to his Sons, *Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and will ye take Benjamin also? Raphael*, saith she, is not, *Lawrence* is not (these were the Names of her two elder Sons who died in the Wars beyond Sea) and will ye take *Samuel* also? *All these Things are against me, and will bring my gray Hairs with Sorrow to the Grave.* She was proceeding farther, but he prevented her, falling upon his Knees and saying, "Dear Mother, although my Inclinations are strong, and my Desires great to travel with my Lord,



Lord, in such Company, and in such an Equipage, as I may now do, yet since I know your Pleasure, I can assure you, I feel already far greater Satisfaction in denying my own Will for yours, than I can find in the Journey, should it answer all my Desires and Expectations". He therefore the next Day went to the Earl's House in *Northamptonshire*, and begged his Lordship's Pardon that he could not serve him herein, and acquainted him with the Reason which hinder'd his going.

SUDDENLY after that this Invitation was given him to travel, his old Friend Mr. *Allington* did procure the Presentation of the Living of *Halson*, in the County of *Suffolk*, which Presentation he sent to him; but Mr. *Fairclough* was not yet of Age, to receive Priest's Orders, or to be instituted and inducted into a Living; which being understood by Mr. *Grouse*, a Fellow of the College, he did offer himself to go to *Norwich* and take the Institution in his own Name, to allow the whole Profit of the Living to this his young Curate, and to restore the Living to him so soon as he should be capable to receive it.

WHEN Mr. *Fairclough* enter'd upon it, there was soon a greater Congregation gathered to hear him, than the Church of *Halson* could hold. But when the two Years were expired, and Mr. *Grouse* had resigned, Mr. *Fairclough* did not think himself sufficient for these Things. For though his Learning and Parts were beyond his Age, and his Labours were abundantly acceptable, yet he did think himself not furnished for so great a Work as that of taking the Care of Souls upon him; he therefore resolved to retire again, and to betake himself to his private Studies for a Year or two longer, desiring to enter into the Family of some eminent

eminent Minister, where he might go through again, and compleat, a Course of Divinity Studies, and by Converse with some experienced Minister, gain a more full Knowledge of the Nature of his Work, and attain greater Measures of Grace in his own Heart.

HAVING therefore, first consulted with his spiritual Father Mr. *Ward*, he was by him commended to the House of Mr. *Richard Blackerby* of *Ashen*, in *Essex*, a Man justly reputed one of the holiest Men on Earth, and accounted the greatest Scholar in that County. Here he sought to accomplish himself in all Pieces of human Literature: And he had undoubtedly consumed his whole Life, and buried himself in History and Antiquity, and in Arts and Sciences, if GOD had not touched his Conscience by that Text of Scripture, viz. *the World by Wisdom knew not GOD*, which he one Morning reading, became thereby convinced, that he might spend too much Time in gratifying his natural Inclinations; his Conscience also told him that he was not born for himself, but for publick Use and Service.

HEREUPON he turned the Stream of his Studies mostly in the Channel of Divinity. The Grace of GOD now so far prevailed upon him, that he was taught to judge of Things aright. It is true, he valued human Learning above all human Things, and did both covet and attain to a greater Measure than most Men do; but he was so happy as to know, that as the Concerns of Eternity are greater than those of Time, so the Knowledge of Things Eternal, highly transcends the Knowledge of Things Temporal.

HE afterwards allotted four Days in the Week for the Study of Divinity, and two for the study-  
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ing human Learning, and although he had left his stated Preaching, at one particular Place, yet he preached constantly every LORD'S-DAY in one Place or another; and Providence so ordered it, that he was sent for, far and near, especially by Ministers and Congregations of Market-Towns, and those in divers Counties. In *Essex* he was invited often to preach at *Colchester*, *Braintree*, *Walden* and *Thacksted*. In *Suffolk*, he preached often at *Hadleigh*, *Sudbury* and *Clare*, in all which Places his Name and Memory is precious to this Day, and will be so as long as any of his Auditors shall be found alive; for in all Places God gave him many Seals of his Ministry.

In the Year 1619, the Mayor of *Lynn* in *Norfolk*, and nine of the Aldermen of that Town, sent him a Letter, subscribed with all their Names, intreating him that he would come and be their Lecturer. He so far complied with their Desires; as to go to *Lynn* and preached amongst them, who then offered 50 l. *per Annum*, and a fair Dwelling-House at the Charge of the Corporation. The People also petitioned him to come thither, and promised to make his Salary up an 100 l. *per Ann.* but he desired some Time to consider. Returning to Mr. *Blackerby*, and advising with him, and with divers other Friends, they all persuaded him to go to *Lynn*. Hereupon he went, and continued there some Time.

BUT it happened to him there, as it did to the Apostle, to wit, to be greatly envied by some other Ministers, whose People flocked to hear this new Lecturer: Moreover, he was openly opposed by the Generality of the Inn-keepers, Alehouse-keepers and Vintners, whose Trade became lesser. But above all, Dr. *Harsnett* began to be angry, he

being informed that he had baptized Children without the Sign of the Cross, upon which he was cited to the Bishop's-Court. Mr. *Fairclough* perceiving his Enemies would soon make *Lynn* too hot for him, went to the Mayor and Aldermen of the Town, and besought them to provide themselves of another Lecturer; at which they were greatly troubled; but Mr. *Fairclough* acquainting them with what had passed at the Bishop's-Court, and recommending a learned and godly Man to succeed in his Place, he obtained Leave to return to a smaller Lecture at *Clare*.

AND now being resolved to sit down in this Place, he considered about entring into a married State.

AT his first coming into Mr. *Blackerby's* Family, he had observed not only a great Beauty, but a wonderful Modesty in his eldest Daughter, and having lived for some Years with her, he had discerned, that as she was of an excellent Temper and sweet Conversation, so she was sincerely pious; he therefore having spent much Time in Prayer for Direction, resolved first to address himself to her Father, and then to herself, which he did, and obtained both their Consents; and they were a most happy Couple, every Way suitable to each other, and rejoicing in each other's Love.

IN the mean time the Word of GOD at *Clare* ran and was glorified by his Ministry, upon which all Sorts of Persons (rich and poor) did attend; and amongst those of Quality was Sir *Nathaniel Barnardiston*. He was Patron to divers Livings: One of them becoming void, the Patron immediately purposed Mr. *Fairclough* to be the Incumbent of that Parish called *Barnardiston*. Hereupon the

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Presentation was sent to Mr. *Fairclough*; but he sent back the Presentation; acquainting the Patron, that he understood some Persons had moved in the Behalf of one Mr. *Weld*, with whom he did heartily join in the Petition, himself having present Employment at *Clare*, whereas Mr. *Weld* was wholly destitute. Sir *Nathaniel* was much pleased with the Kindness of Mr. *Fairclough*, but was troubled at this Answer; he therefore sent his Servant the same Day back to acquaint him, that he did not only offer the Presentation, but earnestly request his Acceptance thereof; because God had blessed his Labours already much to his own, and his Lady's Heart; and therefore it was their joint Desires that he would come to be their Neighbour Minister..

IMPORTUNITY from such a Person, in such a Case, could not be long denied; so Mr. *Fairclough* removed to the Town of *Barnardiston*, where he constantly preached twice every LORD'S-DAY, and preached every Festival-Day, when the People could best attend; and also once, every Month, he preached a Preparation Sermon for the Sacrament. Here he also set up the great Duty of Catechising young and old; which he practised (as Opportunity allowed) to his Lives End. Neither did he content himself with publick Preaching alone, but he went to all the Houses in *Barnardiston* (they not being many) once every Month, and discoursed there with his People about the State of their Souls, and gave them Assistance and Counsel, according to their present Condition.

He compared publick Preaching to sowing of Seed; and private Discourse to harrowing, or covering the Seed, without which, the Fowls of the Air,

Air, that is, a Multitude of diverting Thoughts, and the Prince of the Air also, would soon pick up the Word, without Fruit or Benefit. At another Time he compared publick Preaching to that Rain, that falls upon many narrow mouthed Bottles, the greatest Part whereof falls besides the Mouths of the Vessels, so that they were rarely filled; but private Instruction and Admonition, he would say, was like a Man's taking a single Bottle into his Hand, and pouring in Water into it with a Funnel, whereby it was soon filled.

WHILST he was Minister here (which was not above five Years) he was desired not only by the People, but by the Minister also of one of the Churches of *Sudbury*, that he would supply the Place of the Minister, who was then sick, one LORD'S-DAY, which was granted; and lodging at one Mr, *Ruggle's* House in that Town, he in the Sabbath Evening repeated both his Sermons in that Family, where were present divers other Persons of the Town also. Hereupon one of the other Ministers of the Town, being displeased, did draw up certain Articles against him, as against a factious seditious Man; and exhibited them in the Star-Chamber, grounding his Accusation barely upon this Repetition of his Sermons. He was convened before the Lords of the High-Commission; where, although he made a legal, clear and full Defence, yet that Court being arbitrary, he could not obtain a Dismission, 'till after two Years Attendance: The Charge of his Journies, and the Fees of Proctors, Advocates and Council, did swallow up these two Years, the whole Prophet of his little Living; and he had continued longer in Trouble if Sir *Nathaniel Brent* (his chief Council and Advocate had not at last humbly petitioned the Court in the Name of his Client, that the Bu-  
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ness might be referred to the Petitioners Diocesan at *Norwich*; which being granted, a Lady in *Norwich* gained such a Certificate from the Bishop, as obtained a full Discharge.

AND this Account we have from his own Diary, which he kept constantly, from his Age of twenty Years; and daily, wrote down in it a full History of all God's dealing with him, and of the Daily Frame of his own Heart, and of *Satan's* Temptations and his Victory over them. A great Part of his Diary is penned in the *Greek* Tongue, but the greatest Part of it is writ in elegant *Latin*; what now follows relating to his Removal to *Ketton*, is taken wholly from his own Hand,

DR *Gibson*, who was Incumbent of the Rectory of *Ketton*, had some Friends at Court, who gave him some Hopes, that in Case he would come up to *London*, and petition the Lord Keeper for a Prebendaries Place, then void at *Norwich*, he might obtain it. Up went the Doctor hereupon, but it pleased God to afflict him so soon as he came to the City, with a severe Sickness, whereof he died. News hereof was sent down to the Patron, Sir *Nathaniel Barnardiston*; who sent his eldest Son, with a Presentation to Mr. *Fairclough*; who returned a very thankful Letter, acknowledging his great Obligations, but withal told him, That he stood so engaged now to his present People, that without their Consents he could not leave them. Hereupon his Patron did the same Week summon all the People of *Barnardiston* to his House, and told them, that as in Love to their Souls he had formerly presented this Minister to them, so in Love now to the Souls of the People of *Ketton*, he was resolved to bring him to *Ketton*; but he still would take Care that a godly and learned Minister should succeed,

one that might watch over their Souls, naming Mr. *Wesley*, the then Lecturer of *Haverill*. The Nearness of the Parishes one from the other, the Authority of the Landlord, and his conscientious Care in providing a good Successor for them, produced a Silence in them, and a half Consent, which was interpreted by the Patron to be sufficient, because at Mr. *Fairclough's* first going to *Barnardiston*, the People had Notice that he was placed there but for a Time.

He was about 35 Years of Age when he came to *Ketton*, and he continued near 35 Years there; all which Time, saving a little Interval by Reason of Sicknes, he constantly preached four Times a Week, besides his daily Expositions in his Family; to wit, twice every LORD's Day, once every *Thursday*, a publick Lecture, and once every *Saturday* Night, in his own House, in Preparation for the Sabbath. The Frequency of his Preaching hindered not the Elaborateness of his Discourses. He never preached any Thing which he had not first duly considered, and writ with great Deliberation. It is true, he never used any Notes in the Pulpit, but he never preached without them.

His *Thursday* Lectures were preached to a great Number of the Clergy; all the Ministers, for many Miles compass, coming constantly to hear them; and there were frequently not less than ten or twenty Scholars, both Fellows of Colleges and others, from *Cambridge*.

In his LORD's days Exercises, which were to a plain Country People of his own and Neighbour Parishes; he very rarely preached about any controverted Point, and did never stuff his Sermons with nice Speculations and intricate Disputes. He

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loved not to meddle in his popular Sermons, with those Points that lie out of common Reach, and were apt to perplex honest Minds. He industriously studied Plainness, therein following the Pattern of his old acquaintance Archbishop *Usher*, and the special Counsel and Advice of his old Friend Dr. *Preston*.

GOD had given him also a mighty Gift in Prayer, and GOD did bless the Use of both Prayer and Preaching to the great Benefit of his People. The Town, when he first came to it, was very ignorant and prophane; being generally *Aliens and Strangers from the Common-wealth of Israel; and living without GOD in the World*. There was not one Family in twenty who did then call on the Name of the LORD, or had the Worship of GOD set up in it; but in a short Time after his Coming, he had so preached to them, and so prayed with them and for them, as there was not one Family in twenty but professed Godliness, and the Governors thereof did offer up their Morning and Evening Sacrifice constantly.

UPON himself GOD had poured out an abundant Measure of the Spirit of Grace and Supplication. Whatever either Gifts or Graces were requisite to make that Ordinance of Prayer acceptable to, or prevalent with GOD, were communicated to him in an extraordinary Manner. He always poured forth his very Heart and Soul before GOD with a great Faith; and from thence flowed a great Freedom of Expression, but always joined with the greatest Reverence and deepest Humility. It was very affecting to discern Gifts and Graces thus in Conjunction. He well knew how to suit his expressions properly to every particular Occasion, whether he petitioned for any special Mercy; or deprecated

precated the Removal of any Evil; all which he performed, though with great Fervor and Zeal, yet with such entire Resignation and Submission to the divine Will, that, in all Things it was manifested, that Love to God and his Glory, gave Life and Breath to all his Desires. He had a tender Heart, and in a Day of Humiliation he discovered such Brokenness and Contrition of Spirit as did soon melt the Hearts of others; and on such Days, all that joined with him wished, and many found with *Jeremiah*, *That their Heads were Rivers, and their Eyes Fountains of Tears*. Every LORD's Day, especially in his last Prayer of his Afternoon Sermon, he was very large in the Thanksgiving Part of that Ordinance; which he performed as if he had been one of the heavenly *Quire*. At this new Service he seemed to recover new Life and Strength, and oh! how great were the Raptures! how lofty were the Strains! how wonderful were the Enlargements of Soul which he experienced in the Performance of that Angelical Work of Praise! He never forgot *Zion*, but begged as often, and more earnestly, that *GOD's Name might be hallowed*, and that the *Kingdom of his Son might come*, than ever he did for his own daily Bread.

He prayed much for others, and desired the like from them; which that he might obtain, he appointed stated Times, when he and his Friends engaged to each other to meet together at the Throne of Grace; which Engagement, on his Part, was strictly performed. A Visitant once coming to him, and the Question being asked, whether he had kept the promise of mutual Prayer, the Person blushed; and confessed, that some Omission had happened on his Part; to which this holy Man replied, "Well, but I have been true to my Word; and

and could either this Table, or Chair, near which I have prayed, speak, they might witness for me, that for seven Years together, I have made mention of your Name before God in Prayer, between four and five of the Clock every *Saturday* in the Afternoon, unless hindered by extraordinary Occasions."

As he was a Man much with God in Prayer, so he was one whose Prayers God did often, and sometimes very signally, answer. We must not transcribe the many Instances of that Return of Prayer which he hath recorded; but we should be greatly wanting, if we did not make Mention of some of them.

His Wife, about a Year after his Marriage, being great with Child, became very sickly, and continued so, 'till within a Fortnight of her Time. He had all along wrestled with God upon her behalf, and had spent much Time in Prayer with her; but now he was resolved to spend a Day in Fasting and Prayer, by himself, upon her Account; and his Wife set apart the same Day for Prayer by herself in another Room. In the Duty he earnestly begged of God, that she might obtain Mercy, and find Help in the Time of her Need. In the Evening and close of the Day, while he was the seventh Time upon his Knees, he heard a mighty Shriek not far from the House, which he guessed to be the Voice of his Wife, and so it was; for his Wife having spent also most Part of the Day in Prayer, did in the Evening, walk abroad, meditating upon the Promises of God, made to Persons in her Condition; and contemplating the infinite Power of God, whereby he was able to make good his Promise in the greatest Difficulties. Her Mind was deeply engaged herein; whilst going by the Side of a Pond in an adjoining Field, her Feet slipped so,

as she fell over Head and Ears into the Water; but she shrieked in her fall, which her Husband hearing, and coming down hastily, missed her within Doors, and ran so hastily to the Pond that although she had sunk twice, yet he caught her by the Hand before she sunk the third Time. This happened in the Month of *October*, when the Water was exceeding cold; but it pleased God, that neither her Fall caused Abortion, nor the Cold produced any evil Effect.

A more memorable Instance of the Answer of Prayer is, that which follows concerning his youngest Son; for whom, upon a *Saturday*, about four in the Afternoon, which was one of his stated Times of Prayer for his Friends and Relations, his Heart was much enlarged in Prayer, being then walking in the Fields, and pouring out his Soul for all his Relations, but especially for that little one, who was his youngest, and then about two Years old. This Child, at that Hour, a Servant had taken up with her into the Garret, and set him by the Window, while she swept it, and so carelessly neglected to have her Eye upon the little one, that the Child, looking out at the Window, upon a company of young Ducks, which were swimming in a Vessel of water right under the Casement, thrust its Body so far out, that it fell down, and pitched first upon the Eaves of the next Floor, with that force, that it brake above a dozen Tiles off from the Place, and with them fell down to the Ground; but not into the Vessel of water, which stood perpendicular to the Window, but exactly between that Vessel and a large Door which lay very near it, and upon which the Meat for those Ducks was laid. Had it fallen a Quarter of a Yard on either Hand, its Brains had been dashed out, either by the Door or Vessel; but God, by the Ministration of his Angels,



gels, so ordered it, that although the Height of the Place caused a Dizziness, and a Swoon for a few Moments; yet the Child was no sooner taken up, but immediately it came to Life again, and there was not the least Bruise or Hurt inward or outward, no not the least Razing of the Skin by any of the Tiles that fell with it; but within one Quarter of an Hour, it went up and down the House, as it had formerly done.

Our good Father looked higher than to any natural Causes, of his Child's Preservation; for when he was returned from his Walk, which was near Half an Hour after the Fall, at which Hour he had Prayed so earnestly to GOD for this Child, being told the Story of the Fall, and having observed the Height of the Window, the broken Tiles, the Posture of the Vessel and Door, and the Place where the Child was taken up safe; he presently called all his Family, and many of the Neighbours together, to join with him in giving GOD Praise for that wonderful Return of Prayer, made at that Instant, for that little one.

To mention but one Instance more, GOD having given him a seventh Child, it pleased GOD, that when it was about half a Year old, it was strangely afflicted with Pain and Sickness, which neither Physicians nor Chirurgeons could give any Account of. Many eminent Persons, of both Sorts, had inspected the Child, but could not in the least guess at the Nature of its Distemper. Many Weeks passed wherein the Child languished, and did daily fill the Ears of its Parents with its frequent loud Shrieks. The Parents hereupon set apart a Day of Prayer, solemnly to seek GOD for this poor afflicted Infant; in which Service GOD was pleased to give him great Assistances of his Spirit, and Enlargement.

largement of Heart; and the very next Morning, while the Mother had the sick Child in her Lap, and rubb'd its naked Head with her Hand, she felt a Pin to prick her Hand; at which very much wondering, she looked narrowly into the Ear of the Child; and there espied the small End of a large Pin. It was very difficult to discern the End thereof, and more difficult to draw it forth, the Head of the Pin being downward, and almost eaten up with Rust; but it being pulled out, the Child was presently at Ease, and recovered its Health in a very short Time.

THE Work of God thereby greatly prospered in his Hand, the whole Town was more and more reformed, so that his Parish was a Pattern to all his Neighbour Towns.

FORMER Prophaneness was forced now to hide its Head; Drunkenness, Swearing, Cursing, and the like, as they were not practised, so they were scarce known; divers Persons having lived many Years in that Parish, and in the whole Time, never heard an Oath sworn, or seen one Person drunk.

MANY Years thus passed, and were spent by this faithful Servant of *Jesus Christ*, wherein God was pleased abundantly to enable him with bodily Strength to go through his Labours; and wherein God also did secure him from all Molestation and Trouble from abroad, which some others met with.

BUT about the Year 1635, he was seized with Dizziness in his Head, which afterwards turned to a violent Pain. His Physicians told him, that his Distemper proceeded from over much Study, and from a sedentary Life; for the Cure whereof they

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advised him to forbear Preaching, which he did a while; but found no Relief. Then they advised him to change Air, and commended unto him the Air about *Newmarket*. He went therefore, and lived with the *Lady Thornton*, who had a Seat within little more than a Mile of that Town; and God was pleased very much to bless that Air to his Recovery; so that having gotten a little Strength, he was resolved to return to his Work, and to lay it out in his Master's Service; which he did do for near two Years.

THEN it pleased God to exercise him with a greater Trial; for upon a Lords-day Morning, in his Passage from his own House towards the Parish Church, he went over a Gate in his Way, which he supposed had been locked, as it was wont to be; but while he was almost over it, the Gate opened, and caused him to have a very great Fall upon his Belly against the Ground, so that his Navel started out very much, and a very great Swelling followed. His Wife besought him to return Home, and take himself to his Bed; but he considering that his Congregation was at that Time met; and finding that he was able still to walk, although not without Pain, went forward to Church, and there preached the former Part of that Day, but was forced to procure a Supply for the Afternoon. The next Day his Pain increased more and more; and although he loved not to keep his Bed, yet he was confined thereto for some Days, and unto his Chamber for some Weeks, till he had procured a Truss, which enabled him to travel on foot; but wholly hindered him from riding on Horse-back for several Years: Which Affliction, though it was very uncomfortable, in as much as it barred him from that Recreation he only delighted in; yet it was a sufficient Plea for his not appearing at the Bishop's

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Court; and thereby it was providentially a Means of his continuing in his ministerial Work longer than probably he might otherwise have done.

ABOUT this Time the Book of Sports was enjoined to be read, which he neither did, nor could submit to; and for this he was often cited to appear before the Archdeacon and Commissary at *Bury*: But Answer was always given, that by Reason of his Distemper he was unable to ride so far. Hereupon Articles were drawn up against him; and the Commissary had Order to adjourn the Court from *Bury*, to the Parsonage-house of *Ketton*; and now all Persons feared that he would have been suspended; but the Providence of God prevented it; for the Commissary and Surrogate, who were deputed to examine him, were both hindered at that Time by Sickness, and none came but the Secretary, and one Minister with him, who did little more than take Cognizance of his bodily Lameness, and then departed; leaving him in Liberty to go on in his Work as formerly; in which he was very diligent and constant; for although he was not well able to get up into the Pulpit for some Years, yet he preached twice every Lord's-day, sitting in his Desk.

BUT over much Study, after some time, had almost brought his first Distemper upon him; for his Spirits began to decay, and Dizziness began to seize his Head, besides the continuing of the Starting of his Navel, about which having consulted with many Doctors, they all advised that he would go down in a Horse-litter to the *Bath*, which they counted would be a most effectual Remedy for him. But such a long Journey required more time than the Statute doth allow to any Incumbent to be absent from his Place; this therefore put him upon  
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petitioning the Archbishop for a Dispensation; which by Interest of Friends was obtained. And it may be remembered, that one Argument which the Presenter of the said Petition used to the Archbishop, was this, That his Lordship had no Man dwelling in his whole Province who was so like himself, as to bodily Shape and Face. To which the Archbishop answered, *Is it so? Then let him go to the Bath.*

If any Person, upon Occasion, shall desire to have some Account of his bodily Shape and Form, let them know, he was a pretty fat and corpulent Man, full-faced, of a grave majestick Aspect, and had a very quick and piercing Eye; but withal low of Stature.

THIS Dispensation being obtained, he resolved to undertake his Journey to *Bath* so soon as ever God should give his Wife safe Deliverance, she being then with Child: But this Time never came; for his Wife, not going her full Time, fell in Labour, and brought forth an abortive Child, which also cost her her own Life.

HE was now left alone with a great Number of small Children; and with a great Family of Servants; the Education of the one, and the Government of the other, was impossible for him to discharge, as he knew that it ought to be done, by Reason that his ministerial Work did necessarily take up most of his Time, if not all of it. Yet he grappled with these Difficulties for three Years, and was then persuaded by Friends, to endeavour to repair the Breach which God had made in his Family, by marrying a second Time.

AND Providence bringing an excellent Gentlewoman to live in that Town, she was recommended to him by all his Friends, but especially by his first Wife's Relations, as one that would take off much of the Burden of educating his Daughters, who were the youngest Part of his Children. This Gentlewoman was a Person of great Piety, and of a sweet Disposition; she was the Relict of Mr. *William Folke of Cambridgeshire*, and had but one Child, a Daughter, an Heiress of a fair Estate, who was much of the same Age with his youngest Child and Daughter. After much Prayer, and seeking of GOD, the Thing was accomplished, to the great Joy and Comfort of them both; she being a very affectionate Yoke-fellow to him, and a most indulgent Mother-in-law to his Children; so that their never happened the least Strife between them, but only this, Whether he should shew more Kindness to her only Child, or she shew more Love to all his seven Children? And this Contest also was most pleasingly composed afterwards, by the Inter-marriage of his third Son with that Daughter.

ABOUT this Time the first long Parliament was convened, who after a while thought fit to call an Assembly of the most eminent Divines of the Nation, and those of different Persuasions, to sit at *Westminster*, and to consult about making some Alteration in the Discipline and Government of the Church. His Patron being one of the Knights of the Shire for *Suffolk*, nominated him to be one of this Assembly. But although he had much recovered his Health, without going to the *Bath*, yet the Starting of his Navel was not fully cured; and therefore he went not to *London* till that Assembly was met, and had sat some time.

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WHEN he came to *Westminster*, and observed the State of Things, he petitioned to be discharged; and obtained of his Patron to nominate another Minister to succeed in his Place; which being granted, he returned to his own Charge. He was a great Lover of Peace, and a great Promoter of it; and was wont greatly to bemoan, that those who did heartily agree in the fundamental Articles of our Creed, should, with great Heat and Animosity, contend about Modes and Ceremonies of Worship, and Forms of Discipline and Government.

HE was no Lawyer, and therefore might be ignorant of the Legality of the Proceedings of either Party, during the late Civil Wars; and therefore he always chose to be passive therein rather than active; but no Man lamented more the Sins of those Times than he did, being greatly wounded when he heard of Protestants fighting one against another. The Wars were no sooner began, but he foretold the Ruin both of Church and State; for he discerned the Designs of the *Jesuits* were to foment the Differences on both Sides, till both Church and State should be destroyed; which sadly came to pass in the Year 1648, when the Emisaries of the Church of *Rome*, who had lifted themselves in both Armies, did so influence and leaven their Counsels, that the Army rebelled against the very Persons from whom they received their Commissions, and offered great Violence to them; first by excluding the most eminent Members of the House of Commons, with the whole House of Lords; then they killed the King himself at his own Door, throwing the Scandal of all upon the Protestants; though a learned Dignitary of the Church hath abundantly proved it to be Act of the Papists chiefly.

OH how greatly did the Soul of this worthy Person bleed for these Things, and upon all Occasions he constantly bore publick Testimony against those Proceedings.

WHEN the Engagement for excluding the King's Posterity was imposed upon him, upon the Penalty of forfeiting his Living, he declared, That he would not only part with his Living, but his Life also, rather than subscribe to that which his Soul abhorred. He was sometimes threatned with Loss; at other Times tempted by great Offers of Gain: But nothing could prevail with him, to bring him to a Compliance in any Thing which he judged sinful.

AFTER near fifty Years spent in preaching the Word of GOD with Faithfulness and Diligence, it pleased GOD now to honour him, by enabling him to suffer for adhering to the Word of his Patience, and for the Testimony of a good Conscience. He had been eminently active, and done much for GOD's Honour and Glory; and now he was called to be passive, and to forsake all and follow his Master. Consciencious Doing of the Divine Will, is a good Preparation for consciencious Suffering it. He that hath been sincere in obeying other of GOD's Commands, will obey this among the rest, of taking up *Christ's* Cross. He was wonderful tender in judging any of his Brethren, who, so far as he knew, might follow their Light, in declaring their Assent and Consent to every Proposition contained in several human Books; but he himself had no such large Faith; much less had he the implicit Faith of making such Declarations upon Trust, relying upon the Judgment of others.



ALL his People were greatly desirous of his continuing with them, if his Conscience would have permitted. The Poor thought they should greatly suffer by his leaving them; fearing a Want of that Charity which he was wont to extend towards them. Others thought of their great Loss of an able and willing Peace-maker, in case of Differences, for he made and kept Agreement between his Neighbours. Others doubted, that in his Absence they should want a Person that would appear for the Fatherless and Widow, against their injurious Enemies and cruel Oppressors. All these might desire his Continuance out of Love to themselves; but others came to him out of a Principle of Friendship to him and his; advising him to be kind to himself, and not to lose a Living of 200 *l. per Annum*, or to part with such a fine Parsonage-house, or with such a fine Glebe, or with such a great Auditory, or with such a loving People, or kind Neighbourhood: And others did desire his Continuance, yet upon more weighty Reasons, they questioned whether any would succeed, like-minded with him, who naturally had care of their Souls, by opening the Mysteries of the Gospel, and by revealing the Way of Life to them; and that with great Evidence and Demonstration, with great Power and Plainness; they doubted also, whether they should ever have such another Pattern of Holiness, or such an Example of Mortification, or such an Instance of heavenly Mindedness set before their Eyes. To all these he replied diversly. To the Poor, Afflicted, and Oppressed, he answered, That he blessed God he should leave a good Magistrate behind him, who had formerly done, and could still do, more for them than he could; and he knew that he was ready so to do. To the second Sort he answered, That their Love was great, but not right,

right, being of no other Kind than that of *Peter's*, when he dissuaded *Christ* from going to *Jerusalem*; and therefore he desired them to desist from tempting him. To the last Sort he used the Words of the Apostle, *Sirs, Why do you break my Heart? For my own Part I am willing not only to be bound, but to die, rather than sin against the Light of my Conscience*; and for you I shall not cease to pray, that *GOD* would send you another Pastor, one after his own Heart; and I hope *GOD* will hear me herein. He desired them therefore to join with the Patron and himself, in setting some Time apart to seek *GOD* upon that Account; which they did: And he did also in private give himself earnestly to beg of *GOD* that he might have such a Successor, as that he himself might not be wanted.

WHEN the Act requiring all Dissenting Ministers to leave not only their Parsonages but their Parishes and People also, came forth, this grieved him far more than the Loss of his Living; for this hindered him not only from preaching to, but conversing with many of his spiritual Children, whose Education and Increase of Grace, was dearer to him than any temporal Concern. But where active Obedience cannot be given, passive Obedience must be shewn; he therefore resolved upon a Remove; and the first Place he went to, was to board with his eldest Daughter, who had married an *Essex* Gentleman, who lived in a very fair large House, called *Sculpons in Finchingsfield*. He had also two Sons, and two Sons-in-law, who were all Ministers, and had left their Livings also; the Father, and these his four Sons, had lived at great Distance from each other, in five several Counties, but now they all agreed to live together in one House, which made a very numerous Family, and erected a kind of little College of Divines; it was a  
Constella-

Constellation of Stars, every one whereof had afforded a very fair Light when it was separate; but being now all in Conjunction, they drew the Eyes of much People, in that Corner, upon them. Neither could so many Candles be so put under a Bed, or under a Bushel, but that they still yielded a most benign Influence to all those Parts. Their Habitation was about two Miles from the Parish Church, unto which, though some of the Family sometimes went, yet it was impossible for the whole Family to repair thither, especially for the Aged among them, who were more than one or two. For

THIS aged Person was forced to marry, a third Time, an aged Gentlewoman to be his Nurse in his old Age, his second Wife living a very few Years with him; moreover, the House-keeper had an own Mother above threescore and ten Years old, who lived with him. Upon the Account therefore of these Persons, and of divers Children in the Family, whose tender Years kept them also from the Publick, the Father and his Sons did engage to preach constantly on the Lord's-day in their Turns, and once or twice on the Week Days in the Family, whither some Neighbours also did repair. Great was the Comfort and Joy which the Father and his Children took in each others Company. It was a most happy Family, and a very delightful Society.

BUT, to the great Grief of all, it continued not thus above four or five Years; for although the Seat was pleasant, yet the Air was bad, and proved very unwholesome, which caused a Dispersion of the whole Family. His own Sons then removed to *London*, and his two Sons-in-law to *High Suffolk*; and himself went and boarded with his youngest

youngest Son, who was then a Preacher at *Kennet* in *Cambridgeshire*.

HERE the Father did constantly go every Lord's-day to Church, it being near, and heard his Son, and usually preached himself every Lord's-day Evening in the Family. He was then near fourscore Years old, yet his Parts continued quick and strong; and although aged, yet he still retained much of the Smartness and Vigour of his Youth. Those that stood without Doors, and saw not his Face, might suppose the Preacher to be about fifty Years old; and that both as to the Matter of his Discourses, and the Manner of his Delivery. Although at this Age, he would often say, that he now might be discharged of his Labour, both by the Laws of God and Men (the *Jewish* Law allowing the Levite at Fifty, and the *Roman* Law allowing the Soldier at Sixty, to be exempted) yet he loved his Work, and therefore he would not leave the Altar, or quit the Field, so long as he could lift up his Hand, or wield the Sword of the Spirit.

AFTER some Years he removed to *Heveningham* in *High Suffolk*, to the House of his second Daughter, who was there married to Mr. *Jones*, the Rector of that Town; there he also kept on his Course of hearing in publick, and preaching in private, for about two Years.

AT which Time his youngest Daughter, who was married to Mr. *Shute*, the Incumbent of *Stow-market*, was covetous also to have her Child's Part of his Presence and Company; wherein he gratified her. And this was the last Place of his Abode in this World. He was above fourscore Years old when he came to *Stow-market*, until which Time his



his Parts and Memory continued sound; but after that, a great Change suddenly appeared; yet not so great, but that still he retained his Understanding to a very good Use and Purpose, none coming to visit him, but they went away better. When he was much decayed, and almost fallen, the Ruins of the Building were such as did evidence the Fabrick had once been large and stately: When his natural Heat and Fervour was almost extinct, the Remains thereof manifested that the Fire had been great, where the glowing Embers gave so much Heat.

HE was now going off the Stage, and before the Curtain be drawn, that is, before an Account be given of his last Exit, it will not be amiss to intimate some peculiar Excellencies in him, worthy both of Remark and Imitation.

NONE surely can be found, who walked in a more constant Course of private Duties, such as Reading, Meditation, Self-examination and Prayer, which four Duties he seldom or never divided; and by a daily continued Performance of them all, he had much of his Conversation in Heaven, and lived in close Communion with God. The Sun is not more true to its Time of Rising and Setting, than he was to his stated Course of secret Prayer, both Morning and Evening. So soon as he was awake, which was early every Morning, till he was very old, he did immediately rise, and prostrate himself at God's Foot-stool; after which he constantly read some Portion of Scripture, upon which he did first peruse the best Commentators, and constantly, for some time, did meditate thereon, observing the Counsel of *Pythagoras* to his Scholars, *If you will not purify your Food, and ruminate upon it, do not eat.* Having thus digested  
Truth

Truth himself, after some Time he came down to perform Family Worship, which he always began with a short Prayer, and then expounded that Portion of Scripture to them, wherewith he had first warmed his own Heart; and then prayed again with them more largely than before; and so betook himself to his Study again.

THROUGH the whole Day he kept a most strict Watch over his Heart and Tongue, and when he was engaged in civil Converse, and in worldly Affairs, he was even in them spiritual and heavenly, his Discourse being savoury and profitable: It was the Language of *Canaan*, and such as might administer always Grace to the Hearers. He also learned that excellent Sort of Chymistry, to extract spiritual Notions from earthly Occurrences. He saw GOD in all Things, and enjoyed Him in all his Appearances. He managed all Things, and in all Things was managed by the Holy Spirit, as it was said of *Justin Martyr*: Every Evening he constantly called himself to an Account, examining and reviewing, as much as possibly he could, all his Thoughts, Words, and Actions.

It was his Business to live to GOD's Honour. He was full of Designs for *Christ*, he endeavoured fully to copy out the Life of his Lord and Master. All that saw him, saw as it were Religion embodied, shewing itself the greatest Reality, and making itself to appear, what in Truth it is, the most sweet and pleasant Life in the World. They that beheld him, saw it was possible for a Man, while on Earth, to have his Heart in Heaven; and while he is in the Body, both to live in the Spirit and walk in the Spirit.

He

HE was eminently solicitous to discharge all relative as well as personal Duties. In his Family he walked as a Man of Understanding, and with a perfect Heart, and was one of the Apostle's Bishops, *blameless, ruling his own House, and having his Children in Subjection.* He was as another faithful *Abraham*, who taught his Household, and his Children after him, to keep the Way of the LORD. He designed to govern his Family by the Law of GOD, of whom all the Families on Earth are called. He commanded nothing, but what he knew himself to be commanded to command. He did not conceal, but declare what his own Duty, as well as the Duty of his Inferiors, was. He spake his Mind clearly and intelligibly, and forgave all Faults committed ignorantly and by Mistake, being angry for nothing but wilful Disobedience.

GREAT was the Pains which he took to instruct his Family in the narrow Way to Life, by causing them to read the Scriptures frequently every Day, and to abound in the Knowledge of them, treasuring them up in their Memories, which he would often enquire into; and by catechizing of them, first by a shorter Catechism of his own composing, and then in larger ones. All his Children, when grown up, and many of the Servants who lived with him, could not only answer every Question in a very large Catechism, but could prove every Answer by express Scripture-Texts; for they answered not like Parrots, but as understanding the Sum and Substance of the Christian Religion. He moved in his Family as an Angel, or an Intelligence in his Orb, ruling it with perfect Harmony. He beheld his Yoke-fellow with a pleasing and pleased Eye of Love; he looked on his Children with an Eye of Watchfulness, as well as Affection, and upon his Servants with an Eye of

Authority and Government; so that all Things were dispatched in his House with Peace and Order.

He would tell his Servants, that he hired them first to be God's Servants, and then his, and required them to look through and beyond him unto God; whereby they might do two Works, and serve two Masters, the one subordinate to the other, at once, and that they might be sure that they should receive thereby double Wages, from God and from him; adding withal, that God may, by an holy Person, be as truly served in cleaning an Horse, or milking of a Cow, in Obedience to God, as in their going to Church, or in private Prayer. He was careful in hiring Servants; if it were possible, he would gain the Children of godly Parents, and would never permit any to serve him, who refused to serve God in any of his Institutions.

He had one Servant that managed all his Concerns without Doors, a Servant very skilful and very careful; to whom his Master once saying thus; "*John*, since I have left my Estate to your Care, God hath greatly blessed me; and I perceive, the less I meddle with the World the more I thrive; the more I give away, the more I have at the Year's End." The Servant replied, "No doubt, Sir, but it is so; for I have taken notice, that the more you pray and study how to plant and water the Grace of God in your People's Hearts, the greater Blessing hath God given to my Plowing and Sowing in the Field; and the whole Town doth take notice how much the Crop in your Ground is better than theirs, altho' nought but a little Hedge doth part them."



As to the Children which GOD gave him, *he did travail in Birth with them, till he saw Christ formed in them.* GOD made him not only a natural, but a spiritual Father to seven Children. He did believe, that most Children are capable of discerning Good from Evil, much sooner than most Parents are aware of; he therefore began very early to instruct his own Children, and all of them, like *Timothy*, had *Knowledge of the Scripture in them, from the very Breasts.* He instructed them not only by Precept, but by his own Heavenly Example.

His whole Life was worthy of Imitation. It might be said thereof, as *Chrysostom* saith of the Life of *Ignatius*, "It was a Teacher and Tutor of Piety."

He took Care, as much as possible, that no evil Example should be given to his Children; and commanded his Servants that they should not dare to do, or speak any thing before his Children, which they would not do or speak before himself, well knowing that great Reverence is due to Children. He spake to them with much Gravity and some Reservedness, but yet always kindly and affectionately, keeping Frowns only for their Faults. And indeed his Children feared to see a Frown in his Face, as much as some Children fear a Blow from their Father's Hand. He seldom corrected any of them, and some of them never. As a Father he maintained his Authority, and as a good Father he exercised great Clemency. If at any Time he was forced to be severe, he shewed that it was altogether necessary, by the sudden Return of his Kindness, immediately upon their Repentance.

HE bore the Soul of every Child upon his Heart, and daily prayed, that not one who proceeded from his Loins might ever stand at GOD's Left-Hand; and few Men had ever greater Comfort in their Children than he had. He died in the Belief, that he should meet all his Children with Comfort at the Great Day. He sent all his four Sons to the University, where three of them were Fellows of Colleges. They all four were called into the Ministry, and were able and faithful in their Places; none having better Repute than they, in the Places where they lived, untill they were removed, either by Death or otherwise; and GOD blessed them in Temporals also, he and his, parting with above a thousand Pound *per Annum* when they laid down their publick Ministry.

HE lived in an Age wherein great Contempt was thrown upon the Office of the Ministry: This caused this Champion to appear both doctrinally and practically against such Contemnners of the Institution of *Christ*. By his Doctrine he declared often, and proved, that neither Gifts nor Graces, single and separate one from the other, did fully qualify Persons for this Work; nor doth the Conjunction of them constitute a stated Officer in the Church, without due Approbation by Church-Officers, upon Examination, and Ordination, after Approbation, if possibly it can be obtained. Practically he appeared against such Contemnners; first, by begging earnestly of GOD that He would give Grace unto all his Sons; and then would incline the Hearts of them all to devote themselves to this Work. Secondly, By his administering all the Helps of Education that might qualify them thereto. And to shew yet more his Esteem of this Office, he married two of his Daughters unto Ministers; and farther, he did not only send his own  
Sons

Sons to the University, but he sent divers others thither also, and maintained some of them much at his own Charge.

THERE are divers Ministers yet alive that will acknowledge, that unto some of them he was the sole Founder, and many others confess him their greatest Benefactor, as to the University's Maintenance.

HE once hired a young Man of about twenty Years old, to wait on him, and to ride abroad with him, who was a good Scholar, but his Parents wanted an Estate to send him to *Cambridge*. This his Master was ignorant of at his first coming, but a while after, accidentally observing him reading the *Greek Testament*, he tried him therein, and in other Books, and finding him fit, sent him immediately to his eldest Son in the University, and provided for his Sustainance.

AT another Time he preached a worthy Minister's Funeral-Sermon; who had fitted his Son for *Cambridge*, but died poor, whereby the Son despaired of proceeding in his Learning; which he being made acquainted with, at the Close of the Funeral-Sermon, he desired all those of his Auditors that loved and valued the Deceased, that they would testify their Affection in contributing towards the yearly Maintenance of his Son; and after Sermon was ended, he called divers Gentlemen and Yeomanry together; and first he himself subscribed four Pound *per Annum*, the Gentlemen then subscribed forty Shillings *per Annum*, and some Yeomanry twenty; so that the young Scholar was provided for at the University as comfortably as could be desired; and he proved very useful in the Church of God.

HE was an excellent Orator upon all Accounts; but he would use, and shew it most effectually, to move his Auditory to be charitable; many Occasions whereof were offered to him, and he willingly embraced them.

WHEN the Plague was in the University of *Cambridge*, the Vice-Chancellor sent to him, and some other Neighbour Ministers, to make a Collection in his Congregation for the Town of *Cambridge*; which he did so effectually, that he sent him above fifty Pound within a few Days after. And the Vice-Chancellor wrote him a long Letter of Thanks, and told him, that his Gift was more than he had received from any six Towns in all the County besides.

AT another Time, when the Plague was at *Hadleigh* in *Suffolk*, he gathered near as much for that Town. At which Time, he did not only persuade the good People, but even compelled, as it were, many covetous Usurers to be bountiful, as the Prophet *Nehemiah* did, *Neh. v. 13.* The Case of the Prophet was that of Famine, and this Case was that of the Plague; yet he thought, that both the Words and the Action also of *Nehemiah*, might well be applied hereto, and used them in this Case with the like Effect; many hard-hearted Persons professing, that when he shook his Garment, as the Prophet did, at that very Action their Hearts melted within them; and they so trembled, that had their Pockets been full, they had given it all to him at that Collection.

AT another Time, a neighbouring Minister's House being burnt down, wherein his Goods being consumed, he, in a short Time, procured him above an hundred Pounds towards the repairing his  
Loss,



Loss, and procured also his own third Son, then Fellow of *Gonville and Caius College*, to take the distressed Minister's eldest Son to be his Pupil, and to allow him good Part of his Maintenance.

HE was charitable both to the Souls and Bodies of Men; both mediately, by interceeding with others for them, and immediately, by contributing and distributing of his own plentifully to them, and that not only occasionally, but statedly. He commanded all the Poor of his Parish, to come weekly to his Door for Relief; and required always that his eldest Daughter (first, before she married, then his next Daughters successively) should be his stated Almoners, and should distribute Alms with their own Hands, accustoming themselves to Works of Mercy, wherein he commanded them to be very bountiful. Vast was the Sum of Money which he gave away with his own Hand. He cloathed the Naked, and fed the Hungry. He put not only many young Men to *Cambridge*, as hath been said, but many poor Children to School. He gave away as many Catechisms and good Books as were asked of him, and they were many. When the Sight of old People was decayed, he would furnish them with Bibles of a larger Print; and he gave an incredible Number of Spectacles away, always speaking of the Invention of them, with Expressions of Love and Praise to GOD, for his great Goodness to the Souls of Men thereby.

HE loved all the Ordinances and Institutions of *Jesus Christ*. Preaching was his Delight, Prayer his Joy, Administration of Sacraments the Pleasure of his Soul. He counted the Sabbath honourable. He was most solemn in the Observation of publick Days of Humiliation, and kept many Days of private

vate Fasting and Prayer by himself in his Study. But above all, he delighted in reading the Scriptures; which were always *sweeter to him than the Honey, or the Honey-comb.*

HE would never engage in the Performance of any Ordinances rashly, or without due Preparation. He would never read a Chapter, or rarely suffer a Chapter to be read in his Presence, without invoking GOD for the Co-operation of the Divine Spirit therewith. His Preparation for solemn Days of Fasting, for the Sanctification of the LORD's Day, and for the Administration of the LORD's Supper, was not to be paralleled in the whole Country where he lived. He never kept any solemn publick Fast, but he preached some Preparation-Sermons before the Day came. He never administered the LORD's Supper, but he first preached three or four Sermons at least, in opening either the Institution, the Nature, the Use, or the End thereof; or in shewing the Duties of Communicants before, in, and after receiving.

His constant Preparation for the LORD's-Day is beyond all. It hath been already said, that he did constantly preach every *Saturday* in the Evening, a Sermon in order to the right Sanctification of that holy Day: There must now only be added in short, that he commanded all his Servants, to lay aside all Household Work early upon *Saturday* Evening; declaring, that he desired and hoped, that when the World was taken out of his Servants Hands, they would endeavour, by Prayer, Reading, and Meditation, to get it out of their Hearts also; so that their Bodies and Souls both might be free, and ready for a most chearful Performance of GOD's Service the Day following, which should always

always be done without the least Distraction of Mind.

THIS Preparation was not without great Reason; for it is, as he would say, no easy Matter to *cleanse our Hands, and purify our Hearts too, before we compass GOD's Altar.* It is not easy to lift our Feet out of the Mire and Clay, unto which they have too much cleaved, and into which they have too much sunk all the Week before. The Royal Preacher therefore biddeth us, *to look carefully to our Feet, that is, our Affections, before we enter into the House of GOD.* Holiness becomes his House for ever; therefore it behoveth us, that our Souls be comely, dressed and adorned, when we wait on the great GOD; and that our Hearts be fixed and prepared, and our Heart-strings rightly tuned, before we offer to sing and give Praise to a GOD of infinite Glory; and all this requireth Time and Pains beforehand, with much Diligence.

BEING thus prepared, how did he welcome the Arrival of the LORD's-Day! which he sanctified in a Manner equal to his Preparation. The Jews call the Sabbath the Queen of Days, and he loved it accordingly. He rose earlier on that Day than on any other, and caused his Family so to do also; admonishing both Children and Servants to spend some Time with GOD in private in the Morning, if they desired to meet GOD in the publick Ordinances of that Day. The Morning and the Evening Sacrifice, was by him doubled upon the LORD's Day; for he always prayed four Times with his Family every Sabbath, besides six Times in publick, to wit, immediately before he went to Church, and immediately after his Return from thence, in the Forenoon; and before Repetition, and after Supper, in the Evening. His Forenoon Sermon was

was usually repeated by one of his Children after Dinner. In the Evening he repeated it himself. After Repetition he examined his whole Family, not only what they remembered of the Sermons, but what Good they had gained by the Worship of that Day. After Supper, he caused some Part of *Fox's Martyrology*, or some other profitable Book, to be read; and having prayed, he concluded the Day with singing a Psalm.

COMMON Readers, and such as delight not in beholding the Image of GOD drawn upon the Hearts and Lives of his Servants, would be tired, if one Quarter of this Person's Excellencies should be related; therefore, after an Instance or two more given of his Piety, we will leave the rest to be admired only by those that personally knew him; but it is Pity, that that Victory which he had obtained over the World, by Faith, should ever be forgotten.

WHATEVER is in the World, is either the Lust of the Eye, the Lust of the Flesh, or the Pride of Life; he therefore who is mortified to Riches, Pleasures and Honours, hath vanquished the World, as he had done.

HE contemned Riches as the Dirt of the Streets. It is true, that GOD by his own immediate Hand, gave him plentifully; but it is as true, that he gave away again most plentifully to others. He was so dead to the World, that he would scarce deal or meddle with it.

AFTER the Death of his first Wife, and of that Servant with whom he had intrusted his Estate, he put off all his Stock, and let all his Grounds, and never increased his real or personal Estate above five Pound



Pound *per Annum* for near forty Years together; and never put out a Farthing of Money to Usury. He never sued any Man in his Life: He had great Advantages of growing rich many Ways; but if he had died forty Years before he did die, he had been just so rich as he was at his Death. He would often say, that we read not of any good Man in all the History of Scripture, or of the primitive Times, that was covetous, and it was a Shame any that now pretend to the Christian Religion should degenerate. After the Loss of his Living, though he preached often, yet he never would receive one Penny for that Work; and some of his Children have imitated him therein.

As to sensual Pleasure, he did scarce know what any of that Kind did mean. He was as temperate in his Diet as possible. He never used any Sort of Recreation at any Time. It might be said of him as was said of *Georgias Leontinus*, that he did never do any thing for Pleasure. In his Youth he loved Musick and Riding; in Musick he had good Skill; but on the sad News of the Death of *Gustavus Adolphus*, the King of Sweden, that great Warrior in Defence of the Protestant Religion; *he hung his Harp on the Willow*, and never touched any Musical Instrument after. He used to keep as good Horses as any Man in the Country; and was therefore, by a dying Gentleman, bequeathed an Horse of very great Price, in these Words, that he might ride about to preach the Gospel, which he did so long as he was able; but he never took a Journey of mere Pleasure.

BEING once heartily thanked for an excellent Discourse, which proved successful to the Conversion of some there present; he replied thus, *Pray, Friend,*

*Friend, give GOD the Glory; no Praise was due to the Rams Horns, though Jericho's Walls fell down at their Blast: If GOD will vouchsafe that his Spirit shall breathe through Ministers, it is GOD, and not the Means, must have the Praise.*

ANOTHER Time, being greatly assisted by GOD in a Sermon, he wrote these Words on the Back-side of the Notes, *Earthen Vessels, and Leaden Pipes, are either full or empty, according to the Measures which they receive from their Fountain; though free Grace filled my Soul this Day, yet let me take heed of preaching this Sermon again in my own Strength.*

As his Heart was humble, so his Behaviour was meek and lowly. Though his Countenance was very grave and severe, yet his Conversation was full of Sweetness and Affability. It was a Kind of Riddle in the Eyes of common Beholders, to see so much Worth and Grandeur of such easy Access. He never despised or spake haughtily to any Man, and from good Men he would never keep any Distance. If any were godly, altho' never so mean or poor, he received them, not only with civil Respect, but with hearty Love; but, on the other hand, he was a most bold and undaunted Person in reproving the Wicked and Profane, and had a Spirit which could abase the proudest of them all, when he thought fit, and in its due Time and Place.

HIS Humility, joined with so much Grace and Wisdom, caused that he was of a very peaceable Spirit, and had a large Charity for good Men of all Persuasions. His own Understanding being great, made his Love also very large. He discerned, that honest Men mean the same Thing, when they are apt to quarrel about their Expressions of it; and

and therefore in dividing Times, he was always of an uniting Spirit. Whilst others sought to wound the Reputation of Men who differed from them, he did what he could to heal and compose all Animosities. He was abundantly sensible of that Bitterness which some Men were ready to treat others with upon small Differences of Opinion, the Life of Religion and the Power of Godliness being almost extinguished thereby; and while some Men pressed Uniformity in little Matters, Conformity to the weighty Precepts of *Christ*, such as those of Love and Forbearance to each other, were neglected.

He was an hearty Lover of, and had a great Kindness for every Man, in whom he saw any Thing of God's Spirit appearing; and he valued Men more and less, only as he saw more or less of the Divine Image stamped upon them. He intreated all that he conversed with, that the Truth of Grace in others, might be the most powerful Load-Stone to draw their Hearts towards them. He would often say, that for one Man to love another, only because he was of his own Opinion and Party, and to neglect another, who might be acted in greater Things by the Divine Spirit, because he differed in smaller Trifles; such a Temper as this, did manifest, that such an one had little or nothing of the true Love of GOD in him; "For while such a Man did pretend to love his Brother, he did no other Thing than hug himself, and embrace his own Shadow, which he saw falling upon another's Breast."

ABUNDANTLY candid and charitable, meek, and moderate, was this Person at all Times; and yet notwithstanding, this Meekness and Moderation was such, as did not hinder a mighty Heat

and Activity for God, in all weighty and important Matters. He wanted not Zeal, when the main Articles of the Christian Religion, did call for, and require it. At the same Time when he commended *Constantine* the Great, for his reprov- ing the hot Contest of the *Nicene* Fathers about Ceremonies; he also honoured that Emperor for his Warmth, in opposing the *Arrian* Heresy.

INDEED this learned Divine was, as to his Zeal, a most excellent Pattern, worthy of all Imitation. He was in this Grace, as well as in other Things, a burning and shining Light. Heat and Light were never divided in him. His Fire sometimes burned very hot, but always clear, and without any Manner of Smoke. In his Love to the Sal- vation of Souls, he burned like a Lamp, consuming himself, his Body, and Estate, even all the Oil that he possessed, and therein rejoiced, if hereby he might shew any one the Way to God and Glory.

AND hence it was, that a great and learned Man that often heard him, said, That no Man was more judicious and weighty in the doctrinal Part of his Sermons, and none could be more affectionate and zealous than he was, in the Ap- plication of his Doctrine. Indeed, it is a Rarity to find a Man of great Reading and deep Judgment, endowed with much Zeal, or with strong Affec- tions; but this Man's Sacrifices were all kindled with a Fire which came immediately from Heaven; which did at once enlighten his Head, and enflame his Heart.

He was a Man of great Prudence, as well as Zeal. His Sails and Ballast were exactly proporti- onate each to other. He could not be dull and sluggish in the Service of so good a Master; but he

did



did never run before he was sent. He would always stand still to hear his full Errand, and stay to understand perfectly and plainly all his Master's Will; which being so made known to him, he then was most bold and courageous in delivering of his Message.

HE had always a great Love for GOD, and no Man could be more concerned, either for Church or State. He had such a publick Spirit, that he scorned to prefer any private Concern, before the least publick Good; yea, he constantly valued all Persons and Things, according as any Man, or any Thing, had either a greater or less Influence upon the Publick. Those that observed him, might easily discern, that the Glory of GOD, and the Welfare of his Church, were as the great Wheels that did set on Work and govern all his Actions. He was a Man most ready to deny himself at any Time, if in any Thing he might advance the Interest of another Man; provided, that other Person did move in an higher, and more publick Place than himself.

WHEN by Reason of his extreme Age he could not openly and publickly do any Thing more for GOD or his Church, and when he could scarcely suffer any Thing more for the Honour of either, having parted already with all his stated Maintenance, for the Testimony of a good Conscience; he gave himself wholly to pray to GOD for his Church in private; in which Work, he usually spent four or five Hours, sometimes six or seven every Day. Indeed he did, neither could he, at that Age little else but pray; and this he was constant in, both for the publick, and for all his Friends and Relations.

EVERY Age of Man hath it's proper Work, and it's peculiar Excellency and Blessing.

THE Life of Prayer was his Employment, during all those Years, wherein he exceeded fourscore, which was four Years, within a few Months.

It might be said of his Age as it was of *Abraham's*, Gen. xxv. 8. *It was a good old Age.* It was a good old Age on many Accounts. It was good in respect of its Duration. *It is a Mercy when a Man comes to his Grave in a full Age, as a Shock of Corn, ripe in its due Season*, Job v. 26. And it is remarkable, the most eminent Servants and Children of GOD, whereof mention is made in the Scripture, were long lived. Thus *Adam* and *Methuselah* before the Flood; thus *Noah* and *Shem* immediately after it; thus *Abraham* and *Jeb* before the Law; thus *Moses* and *Aaron* immediately after the Law; thus *Eli* and *Jehoiada*, High Priests of the LORD; *David* and *Hezekiah*, the best of Kings; *John* and *James* the LORD's Brothers, the best-beloved Disciples; St. *Luke* and St. *Paul*, the most eminent Pen-men of the New Testament: Of all these it is recorded, that they were eminently Holy, and that they were blessed with length of Days. The wise Man tells us, *That the hoary Head is a Crown of Glory, if it is found in the Way of Righteousness*, Prov. xvi. 31. And it was thus in the Instance before us; "His old Age was good, because he was good, and did good in it."

His Age was good also, because it was an healthy old Age (saving those Times wherein he was troubled with a Swimming in his Head, by Reason of over much Study; which lasted not above two Months

Months the first Time, and three Months the last Time. It might be said of him, that he never had one sick Day for above threescore Years together; (the Starting of his Navel was no Sickness, altho' a great Inconvenience, but it did never hinder him above ten Days, either from his Study or Labours) so that almost all his Days were Halcyon-Days. His old Age was, as *Peter Martyr* saith of *Abraham's*, *facilis senectus*, an easy old Age, because free from those Troubles that are usually incident thereunto. This Healthfulness in old Age is reckon'd as a double Mercy, both by *Moses*, *Deut.* xxxiv. 7. and also by *Caleb*, *Josh.* xiv. 10, 11.

FROM the Healthfulness of his natural Constitution, it came to pass, that he dyed of no Disease, but old Age. There was no Thief in his Candle to hasten its Consumption, nor any acute Distemper to be as an Extinguisher to it; but his Lamp burned clear, so long as there was left one Drop of natural Oil to feed it.

He kept his Bed but one Day before his Departure, a Departure which he had long longed and waited for; and the very Day before his last Day on Earth, some Company being with him, he expressed how much Comfort he took to consider that his Saviour had tasted Death for him; and that *Christ* (by his Resurrection) had given him an Assurance, that he was the *First-fruits of those that sleep in Him*; telling some that stood by him, that it was very much the Duty of Believers to rejoice, that Death had lost its Sting, and that the Power of the Grave was quite vanquished.

A WHILE after he broke out, *Oh the Heighth, Length, Breadth, and Depth of the unsearchable Riches of the Grace of GOD in Christ Jesus!* Oh the Heighth of that Love, whereby GOD hath declared Pardon to poor Penitents! Oh the Freeness of his Grace, who doth offer *Christ* to all that will receive him humbly and believably! that is, who will take him with an empty Hand, joining nothing of their own Works with the Merits of *Christ* in Point of Justification: Some while after, some Persons coming to see him, he told them, that he knew not how to requite them (for that Love which they had shewn him) better than by exhorting them to redeem the Time, especially the Time of Youth and of Health; for except there be first (in Health) a Principle of Grace wrought in the Heart, the Time of Sicknes and old Age would be very unfit for so great a Work, as that of gaining Evidences for Heaven: For, said he, Times of Sicknes and old Age, are Times of considering, not of gaining such Evidences. He advised them therefore (now in Time) to prepare for Eternity; and told them, that Work was only to be done by entering into Covenant with GOD, and making their Peace through *Christ*; which being once sincerely done, then neither a Sick-Bed, nor a Death-bed, could do them the least Hurt.

THE Night after, he grew very weak, and his Spirits decay'd more and more, 'till the Morning of the next Day, *December 14, 1677*, when he resigned his last Breath, and immediately enter'd Into that Everlasting Rest which he had so often prayed for.



It hath been told, how greatly this learned Man did love all good Men of all Persuasions; which made him also to be beloved, and admired both by Conformists and Non-conformists, who came jointly to visit him, and pay equally their Respects to him so long as he lived, and both Sorts did greatly lament their Loss in his Departure; all the neighbouring Ministers, and People of differing Judgments, solemnized this Funeral with great Sorrow.





THE  
L I F E  
O F

RICHARD HOOKER.

**M**R. RICHARD HOOKER was born at *Heavy-Tree*, near *Exeter*, about the Year 1553, and of Parents that were not so remarkable for their Extraction or Riches, as for their Virtue and Industry, and God's Blessing upon both.

His Motion was slow, even in his Youth, and so was his Speech, never expressing any Earnestness in either of them, but a Gravity suitable to the Aged. And it is observed, even when a School-Boy, he was an early Questionist; inquisitive Why this was, and that was not, to be remembered? Why this was granted, and that denied? This being mixt with a remarkable Modesty, and a sweet serene Quietness of Nature, and with them a quick Apprehension of many perplexed Parts of Learn-

Learning imposed on him as a Scholar, made his Master and others consider him as a little Wonder.

THIS Meekness and Conjunction of Knowledge, with Modesty in his Conversation, being observed by his Schoolmaster, caused him to persuade his Parents (who intended him for an Apprentice) to continue him at School, 'till he could find out some Means, by persuading his rich Uncle, or some other charitable Person, to ease them of a Part of their Charge; assuring them, that their Son was so enrich'd with the Blessings of Nature and Grace, that God seem'd to single him out as a special Instrument of his Glory.

THIS was not unwelcome News, and especially to his Mother, to whom he was a dutiful and dear Child; and all Parties were so pleas'd with this Proposal, that it was resolv'd so it should be. And in the mean Time his Parents and Master laid a Foundation for his future Happiness, by insilling into his Soul the Seeds of Piety, those conscientious Principles of loving and fearing God; of an early Belief that he knows the very Secrets of our Souls; that he punisheth our Vices, and rewards our Innocence; that we should be free from Hypocrisy, and appear to Man what we are to God. These Seeds were so seasonable planted, and so continually water'd with the Dew of God's blessed Spirit, that his Infant Virtues grew into such holy Habits, as made him grow daily into more and more Favour both with God and Man.

HIS Schoolmaster was very solicitous with *John Hooker*, then Chamberlain of *Exeter*, and Uncle to our *Richard*, to take his Nephew into his Care, and to maintain him for one Year in the University,

sity, and in the mean Time to use his Endeavours to procure an Admission for him into some College; assuring him, that his Charge would not continue long, for the Lad's Learning and Manners were both so remarkable, that they must be taken Notice of; and that doubtless God would provide him some second Patron, that would free him and his Parents from future Charge.

THIS his Uncle performed by the Assistance of the learned *John Jewell*, who about the First of Queen *Mary's* Reign, was expelled out of *Corpus Christi* College in *Oxford* (of which he was a Fellow) for adhering to those Principle of Religion, to which he had assented in the Days of her Brother and Predecessor *Edward* the Sixth. But having now Cause to fear a more heavy Punishment than Expulsion, he was forced to seek Safety in another Nation.

THE Cloud of that Persecution ending with the Life of Queen *Mary*, he, and many others of the same Judgment, made a happy Return into *England* about the First of Queen *Elizabeth*; in which Year *Mr. Jewell* was sent a Visitor of the Churches of the Western Parts of this Kingdom, and especially of those in *Devonshire*, in which County he was born, where he contracted a Friendship with *Mr. Hooker*, Uncle to our *Richard*.

IN the second or third Year of her Reign, *Dr. Jewell* was made Bishop of *Salisbury*; where *Mr. Hooker* gave him a Visit, and besought him to look favourably upon a poor Nephew of his, whom Nature had fitted for a Scholar, but the Estate of his Parents was so narrow, that they were unable to give him the Advantage of Learning. Upon this he appointed the Boy and his Schoolmaster



to attend him about *Easter*, which was done accordingly; and, after some Questions and Observations of the Boy's Learning and Behaviour, the Bishop gave his Schoolmaster a Reward, and took Order for an annual Pension for the Boy's Parents, promising also to take him into his Care, which was performed; for about the fifteenth Year of his Age, in the Year 1567, he was by the Bishop appointed to remove to *Oxford* to attend Dr. *Cole*, President of *Corpus-Christi* College. Which he did; and Dr. *Cole* had provided for him both a Tutor and a Clerk's Place in that College; which, with the Contribution of his Uncle, and the Pension of his Patron the good Bishop, gave him a comfortable Subsistence. In this Condition he continued to the 18th Year of his Age, still increasing in Learning and Prudence, and so much in Humility and Piety, that he seemed to be filled with the Holy Ghost, and even like St. *John Baptist*, to be sanctified from his Mother's Womb.

ABOUT this Time of his Age he fell into a dangerous Sickness, which lasted two Months. As soon as he was perfectly recovered from it, He took a Journey to *Exeter*, to see his Mother, accompanied with a Companion and Countryman of his own College, and both on Foot: They took *Salisbury* in their Way; purposely to see the good Bishop, who made Mr. *Hooker* and his Companion dine with him at his own Table. At parting the Bishop gave him good Counsel, and his Benediction, but forgot to give him Money; which when he had consider'd, he sent a Servant in all Haste to call him back; and at his Return, said to him, "Richard, I sent for you back to lend you a Horse, which hath carried me many a Mile, and I thank God with much Ease;" and presently delivered into his Hand a Walking-Staff, with which

He

he had travelled through many Parts of *Germany*: He added, "I do not give, but lend you my Horse; be honest, and bring my Horse back at your Return this Way to *Oxford*. I do now give you ten Groats to bear your Charges to *Exeter*; and here is ten Groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your Mother, and tell her, I send her a Bishop's Benediction with it, and beg the Continuance of her Prayers for me. And if you bring my Horse back to me, I will give you ten Groats more to carry you to the College, and so God bless you."

AND this, you may believe, was perform'd. But, alas! the next News that followed Mr. *Hooker* to *Oxford*, was, that his Patron had changed this for a better Life. As he lived, so he died, in devout Meditation and Prayer; and in both so zealously, that it became a Question, Whether his last Ejaculations, or his Soul, did first enter into Heaven.

DR. *Cole* bad Mr. *Hooker* go chearfully to his Studies, assuring him he should neither want Food nor Raiment (which was the utmost of his Hopes) for he would become his Patron.

BUT he did not need it long for the following Reason: *Edwin Sandys* (then Bp. of *London*, and after Archbishop of *York*) had also been in the Days of Queen *Mary* forced to seek Safety in another Nation; where for some Years Bishop *Jewell* and he were Companions at Bed and Board in *Germany*, and by that Means began such a Friendship as lasted 'till the Death of Bishop *Jewell*, which was in September 1571. A little before which Time, the two Bishops meeting, *Jewell* began a Story of *Richard Hooker*, and in it gave such a Cha-

Character of his Learning and Manners, that tho' Bishop *Sandys* was educated in *Cambridge*, where he had many Friends, yet his Resolution was, that his Son *Edwin* should be sent to *Corpus-Christi* College in *Oxford*, and be Pupil to Mr. *Hooker*, tho' his Son was not then much younger: For the Bishop said, "I will have a Tutor for my Son that shall teach him Learning by Instruction, and Vertue by Example; and my greatest Care shall be of the last. Therefore Mr. *Hooker* shall be the Man into whose Hands I will commit my *Edwin*." And the Bishop did so about twelve Months, or not much longer after this Resolution.

MR. *Hooker* was now in the nineteenth Year of his Age, had spent five in the University, and had by unwearied Diligence attained to Perfection in all the learned Languages; by the Help of which, he was an excellent Tutor, and his unintermitted Study, had made the Subtilty of all the Arts easy and familiar to him, and usefull for the Discovery of such Learning as lay hid from common Searchers; so that by these added to his great Reason, and his Industry added to both, he did not only know more, but what he knew, he knew better than other Men. And with this Knowledge he had a clear Method of demonstrating what he knew, to the great Advantage of all his Pupils, which in Time were many, but especially to his two first, his dear *Edwin Sandys*, and his as dear *George Cranmer*.

IN four Years he was but twice absent from the Chapel Prayers; and his Behaviour there was such, as shewed an awful Reverence of that God which he then worshipped; giving all outward Testimonies that his Affections were set on heavenly Things. This was his Behaviour towards God;

and for that to Man, it is observable that he was never known to be angry, or passionate, or extreme in any of his Desires; never heard to repine at any Thing, but by a quiet, gentle Submission and Resignation of his Will to the Wisdom of his Creator, bore the Burden of the Day with Patience; never heard to utter an uncomely Word; And by this and a grave Behaviour, which is a divine Charm, he begot an early Reverence to his Person, even from those that at other Times, and in other Companies, took a Liberty to cast off that Strictness of Behaviour and Discourse that is required in a Collegiate Life. Thus mild, thus innocent and exemplary was his Behaviour in his College, and thus this good Man continued 'till his Death, still increasing in Learning, in Patience, and in Piety.

IN this nineteenth Year of his Age, he was, December 24, 1573, admitted to be one of the twenty Scholars of the Foundation. And now he was perfectly incorporated into this beloved College, which was then noted for an eminent Library, strict Students, and remarkable Scholars.

IN the Year 1577, he was admitted Fellow of the College; happy also in being the Contemporary and Friend of Dr. *John Reynolds*, and of Dr. *Spencer*; both which were after, and successively made Presidents of *Corpus-Christi* College; Men of great Learning and Merit, and famous in their Generations.

MR. *Hooker* continued his Studies with all Quietness for the Space of three Years; about which Time he entered into Holy Orders, and was made Deacon and Priest; and, not long after, was appointed to preach at *St. Paul's Cross*.



IN order to which, to *London* he came, and immediately to the *Shunamites* House: which is a House so called, for that, besides the Stipend paid the Preacher, there is Provision made for his Lodging and Diet two Days before, and one Day after his Sermon: This was then kept by *John Churchman*, sometime a Draper of good Note in *Watling-street*. But to this House Mr. *Hooker* came so wet, weary and weather-beaten, that he was never known to express more Passion, than against a Friend that dissuaded him from footing it to *London*, and found him no easier an Horse. And at this Time also such a Faintness possessed him, that he would not be persuaded any Means could be used to make him able to preach his *Sunday's* Sermon; but a warm Bed, and Rest, and Drink, proper for a Cold, given him by Mrs. *Churchman*, enabled him to perform the Office of the Day, in or about the Year 1581.

THE Kindness of Mrs. *Churchman* curing him of his late Distemper, was so gratefully apprehended by Mr. *Hooker*, that he thought himself bound in Conscience to believe all that she said; so that the good Man came to be persuaded by her, that he was a Man of a tender Constitution, and that it was best for him to have a Wife, that might prove a Nurse to him; such an one as might both prolong his Life; and make it more comfortable; and such an one she could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry. Like a true *Nathanael*, fearing no Guile, because he meant none, he did give her such a Power as *Eleeazar* was trusted with, when he was sent to chuse a Wife for *Isaac*; so he trusted her to chuse for him, promising upon Summons to return to *London*, and accept of her Choice; and he did so in that or the Year following. The Wife provided for him was her

Daughter *Joan*, who brought him neither Beauty nor Portion; and for her Conditions, they were too like that Wife's which is by *Solomon* compared to a *Dripping-house*, so that he had no Reason to rejoice in the Wife of his Youth; but too just Cause to say with the holy Prophet, *Wo is me that I am constrained to have my Habitation in the Tents of Kedar.*

By this Means the good Man was drawn from the Tranquility of his College, into the thorny Wilderness of a busy World, into those corroding Cares that attend a married Priest, and a Country Parsonage, which was *Draiton Beauchamp* in *Buckinghamshire*, not far from *Alesbury*, to which he was presented by *John Cheney*, Esq; the 9th of *December*, 1584, where he behaved himself so as to give no Occasion of Evil, but in much Patience, in Afflictions, in Necessities, in Poverty; yet troubling no Man with his Discontents and Wants.

In this Condition he continued about a Year, in which Time his two Pupils, *Edwin Sandys* and *George Cranmer*, took a Journey to see their Tutor, where they found him with a Book in his Hand, he being then like humble *Abel*, tending his small Allotment of Sheep in a common Field, which he told his Pupils he was forced to do then, for that his Servant was gone home to dine, and assist his Wife to do some necessary Household Business. When his Servant returned and released him, his two Pupils attended him to his House, where their best Entertainment was his quiet Company, which was presently denied them, for *Richard* was called to rock the Cradle; and the rest of their Welcome was so like this, that they staid but till next Morning, which was Time enough to discover and pity their Tutor's Condition; and having

having in that Time given him as much Comfort as they were able, they were forced to leave him to the Company of his Wife *Joan*, and seek themselves a quieter Lodging. But at their Parting, Mr. *Granmer* said, "Good Tutor, I am sorry your Lot is fallen in no better Ground, as to your Parsonage; and more sorry that your Wife proves not a more comfortable Companion after you have wearied yourself in your restless Studies." To whom the good Man replied, "My dear *George*, if Saints have usually a double Share in the Miseries of this Life, I that am none, ought not to repine at what my wise Creator hath appointed for me, but labour, as indeed I do daily, to submit mine to his Will, and possess my Soul in Patience and Peace."

AT their Return to *London*, *Edwin Sandys* acquaints his Father, who was then Bishop of *London*, and after Archbishop of *York*, with his Tutor's sad Condition, and sollicit for his Removal to some Benefice that might give him a more comfortable Subsistence. And not long after this Time, in the Year 1585, Mr. *Alvir*, Master of the Temple, died, who was a Man of a strict Life, of great Learning, and a venerable Behaviour. Here came in a fair Occasion for the Bishop to commend Mr. *Hooker*, which he did with so effectual an Earnestness, that he was sent for from *Draiton Beauchamp* to *London*, and made Master of the Temple the 17th of *March*, 1585, being then in the 34th Year of his Age.

HERE it was that he began to write a Treatise of the Churches Power to make Canons for the Use of Ceremonies; and this he proposed to do in eight Books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; intending therein to shew such Arguments as should force an Assent from all Men, if Reason, delivered

in a sweet Language, and void of any Provocation, were able to do it: And that he might prevent all Prejudice, he wrote before it a large Preface or Epistle to the Dissenting Brethren, wherein there were such Bowels of Love, and such a Mixture of that Love with Reason, as was never exceeded but in Holy Writ, and particularly by that of *St. Paul* to his dear Brother and Fellow-labourer *Philemon*, than which none ever was more like this Epistle of *Mr. Hooker's*; so that his dear Friend and Companion in his Studies, *Dr. Spencer*, might after his Death justly say, *What admirable Height of Learning, and Depth of Judgment, dwelt in the lowly Mind of this truly humble Man, great in all wise Mens Eyes except his own! with what Gravity and Majesty of Speech his Tongue and Pen uttered heavenly Mysteries! whose Eyes in the Humility of his Heart were always cast down to the Ground; how all Things that proceeded from him were breathed as from the Spirit of Love, as if he, like the Bird of the Holy Ghost, the Dove, had wanted Gall. Let those that knew him not in his Person, judge by these living Images of his Soul, his Writings.*

THE Foundation of these Books was laid in the Temple; but he found it no fit Place to finish what he had designed; and therefore solicited the Archbishop for a Remove, to whom he spake to this Purpose, "My Lord, When I lost the Freedom of my Call, which was my College, yet I found some Degree of it in my quiet Country Parsonage: But I am weary of the Noise and Oppositions of this Place; and indeed, God and Nature did not intend me for Contentions, but for Study and Quietness. My Lord, my particular Contests with *Mr. Travers* here, have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him a good Man, and that Belief hath occasioned me to examine  
mine



mine own Conscience concerning his Opinions; and to satisfy that, I have consulted the Scripture, and other Laws both human and divine, whether the Conscience of him and others of his Judgment ought to be so far complied with as to alter our Frame of Church Government, and in this Examination, I have not only satisfied myself, but have begun a Treatise, in which I intend the Justification of our Laws of Church-Government, and I shall never be able to finish it, but where I may study, and pray for God's Blessing upon my Endeavours, and keep myself in Peace and Privacy, and behold God's Blessing spring out of my Mother Earth, and eat my own Bread without Oppositions; and therefore if your Grace can judge me worthy such a Favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun."

ABOUT this Time the Rectory of *Boscum*, in the Diocese of *Sarum*, six Miles from that City, became void. The Bishop of *Sarum* is Patron of it, but in the Vacancy of that See the Disposal of that and all Benefices belonging to that See, during this said Vacancy, came to be disposed of by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and he presented *Richard Hooker* to it in the Year 1591.

In this he continued till he had finished four of his eight Books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; being then in the 39th Year of his Age.

He left *Boscum* in the Year 1595, by a Surrender of it into the Hands of Bishop *Caldwell*, being then presented to the Parsonage of *Bishops-Borne* in *Kent*, three Miles from *Canterbury*.

AT *Borne* he continued his customary Rules of Mortification and Self-denial; was much in Fast-  
ing,

ing, frequent in Meditation and Prayers, enjoying those blessed Returns, which only Men of strict Lives feel and know, and of which Men of loose and godless Lives cannot be made sensible, for spiritual Things are spiritually discerned.

AT his Entrance into this Place, his Friendship was much sought for by Dr. *Hadrian Saravia*, then one of the Prebends of *Canterbury*, a German by Birth, and sometimes a Pastor both in *Flanders* and *Holland*.

IN this Year of 1595, these two excellent Persons began a holy Friendship, increasing daily to so high and mutual Affections, that their two Wills seemed to be but one and the same, and their Designs both for the Glory of GOD, and Peace of the Church, still assisting and improving each other's Virtues, and the desired Comforts of a peaceable Piety, which I have willingly mentioned, because it gives a Foundation to some Things that follow.

THIS Parsonage of *Borne* is near to the common Road that leads from *Canterbury* to *Dover*, in which Parsonage Mr. *Hooker* had not been twelve Months, but his Books, and the Innocency and Sanctity of his Life became so remarkable, that many turned out of the Road, and others (Scholars especially) went purposely to see the Man. But as our Saviour said of St. *John Baptist*, *What went they out to see, a Man cloathed in Purple and fine Linen? No indeed, but an obscure, harmless Man, a Man in poor Cloaths, his Loins usually girt in a coarse Gown, or Canonical Coat; of a mean Stature, and stooping, and yet more lowly in the Thoughts of his Soul; his Body worn out, not with Age, but Study, and Holy Mortifications; his Face full of Heat-pimples, begot by his Inactivity and sedentary Life.* And to this true

true Character of his Person, let me add this of his Disposition and Behaviour. God and Nature blest him with so blessed a Bashfulness, that as in his younger Days, his Pupils might easily look him out of Countenance; so neither then nor in his Age, *did he ever willingly look any Man in the Face; and was of so mild and humble a Nature, that his poor Parish-Clerk and he did never talk but with both their Hats on, or both off at the same Time.* And to this may be added, he was short and weak-sighted; and where he fixt his Eyes at the Beginning of his Sermon, there they continued till it was ended.

In this Place he gave a holy Valediction to all the Pleasures and Allurements of Earth, possessing his Soul in a virtuous Quietness, which he maintained by constant Study, Prayers, and Meditations; his Use was to preach once every *Sunday*, and to catechize after the second Lesson in the Evening Prayer; his Sermons were uttered with a grave Zeal, and an humble Voice; his Eyes always fixt on one Place to prevent his Imagination from wandering, insomuch that he seemed to study as he spake; the Design of his Sermons, as indeed of all his Discourses, was to shew Reasons for what he spake; and with these Reasons, such a Kind of Rhetorick, as did rather convince and persuade than frighten Men into Piety; studying not so much for Matter, which he never wanted, as for apt Illustrations to inform and teach his unlearned Hearers by familiar Examples, and then make them better by convincing Applications; never labouring by hard Words to get Glory to himself, but Glory only to God. Which Intention, he would often say, was as discernable in a Preacher, as an artificial from a natural Beauty.

He

HE never failed the *Sunday* before every *Ember-Week*, to give Notice of it to his Parishioners, persuading them both to fast, and then to double their Devotions for a learned and pious Clergy; but especially the last, saying often, *That the Life of a pious Clergyman was visible Rhetorick, and so convincing, that the most godless Men, though they would not deny themselves the Enjoyment of their present Lusts, did yet secretly wish themselves like them.* And to what he persuaded others, he added his own Example of Fasting and Prayer; and did usually every *Ember-Week*, take from the Parish-Clerk the Key of the Church, into which he retired every Day, and locked himself up for many Hours; and did the like most *Friday's*, and other Days of Fasting.

HE would by no Means omit the customary Time of Procession, persuading all, both Rich and Poor, if they desired the Preservation of Love, and their Parish Rights and Liberties, to accompany him in his Perambulation, and most did so; in which Perambulation, he would always drop some loving Observations, to be remembered against the next Year, especially by the Boys and young People; still inclining them and all his present Parishioners, to Meekness, and mutual Kindnesses, and Love; because Love thinks not Evil, but covers a Multitude of Infirmities.

HE was diligent to enquire who of his Parish were sick, or any ways distressed, and visit them unsent for; supposing, that the fittest Time to discover those Errors to which Health and Prosperity had blinded them; and having by pious Reasons and Prayers, moulded them into holy Resolutions for the Time to come, he would incline them to confess and bewail their Sins, with purpose to forsake them, and then to receive the Communion



nion, both as a strengthening of those holy Resolutions, and a Seal betwixt God and them of his Mercies to their Soul.

AND as he was thus watchful and charitable to the Sick, so he was diligent to prevent Law-suits, still urging his Parishioners and Neighbours, to bear with each other's Infirmities, and live in Love, because, as St. *John* says, *He that lives in Love, lives in GOD, for GOD is Love.* And to maintain this holy Fire of Love constantly burning on the Altar of a pure Heart, his Advice was to Watch and Pray, and always keep themselves fit to receive the Communion; and then to receive it often, for it was both a confirming and a strengthening of their Graces. And at his Entrance or Departure out of any House, he would usually speak to the whole Family, and bless them by Name; insomuch, that as he seemed in his Youth to be taught of God, so he seemed in this Place to teach his Precepts, as *Enoch* did, by walking with him, in all Holiness and Humility, making each Day a Step towards a blessed Eternity.

THIS was his constant Behaviour at *Borne*, so he walked with God; thus he did tread in the Footsteps of primitive Piety; and yet, as that great Example of Meekness and Purity, even our blessed *Jesus* was not free from false Accusations, no more was this Disciple of his, this most humble, most innocent holy Man; his was a Slander parallel to that of chaste *Susannah's* by the Wicked Elders.

BUT this is certain, that he lay under the Anxiety of this Accusation, and kept it secret to himself for many Months; and being a helpless Man, had lain long under this heavy Burden, but that the Protector,

Protector of the Innocent gave such an Occasion as forced him to make it known to his two dearest Friends, *Edwyn Sandys*, and *George Cranmer*, who were so sensible of their Tutor's Sufferings, that they gave themselves no Rest, till they had found out the Fraud, and brought him the welcome News, that his Accusers did confess they had wronged him, and begged his Pardon. To which the good Man's Reply was, *The LORD forgive them, and the LORD bless you for this comfortable News*: Now I have a just Occasion to say, with *Solomon*, *Friends are born for the Days of Adversity*, and such you have proved to me; and to my GOD I say, as did the Mother of *St. John Baptist*, *Thus hath the LORD dealt with me, in the Day wherein he looked upon me, to take away my Reproach among Men*: And, oh my GOD, neither my Life, nor my Reputation are safe in mine own Keeping, but in thine, who didst take Care of me, when I yet hanged upon my Mother's Breast; blessed are they that put their Trust in thee O LORD.

ABOUT the Year 1600, and of his Age Forty-six, he fell into a long and sharp Sickneſs, occasioned by a Cold taken in his Passage betwixt *London* and *Graveſend*, from which he was never recovered: But a Submission to his Will that makes the ſick Man's Bed eaſy by giving Reſt to his Soul, made his very Languiſhment comfortable; and yet all this Time he was ſollicitous in his Study, and ſaid often to *Dr. Saravia* (who ſaw him daily, and was the chief Comfort of his Life) "That he did not beg a long Life of GOD, for any other Reason, but to live to finiſh his three remaining Books of *Polity*, and then, LORD, let thy Servant depart in Peace;" which was his uſual Expreſſion. It is thought he haſtened his own Death, by haſtening to give Life to his Books:

Books : But this is certain, that the nearer he was to his Death, the more he grew in Humility, in holy Thoughts and Resolutions.

ABOUT a Month before his Death, he began to lose his Appetite, and then to have an Averseness to all Food ; insomuch, that he seem'd to live some Weeks by the Smell of Meat only, and yet still studied and writ. And now his Guardian Angel seem'd to foretel him, that the Day of his Dissolution drew near, for which his vigorous Soul appear'd to thirst. In this Time of his Sickness, and not many Days before his Death, his House was robb'd ; of which having Notice, his Question was, " Are my Books and written Papers safe ?" And being answered, that they were, his Reply was, " Then it matters not, for no other Loss can trouble me."

ABOUT one Day before his Death, Doctor Saravia, who knew the very Secrets of his Soul, came to him ; and after a short Retirement, they returned to the Company, and then the Doctor gave him, and some of those Friends which were with him, the blessed Sacrament : Which being performed, the Doctor thought he saw a reverend Gaiety and Joy in his Face ; but it lasted not long, for his bodily Infirmities did return suddenly, and became more visible, insomuch, that the Doctor apprehended Death ready to seize him ; yet after some Amendment, he left him at Night, with a Promise to return early the Day following, which he did, and then found him better in Appearance, deep in Contemplation, and not inclinable to Discourse ; which gave the Doctor Occasion to require his present Thoughts : To which he replied, " That he was meditating the Number and Nature of Angels, and their blessed

Obedience and Order, without which, Peace could not be in Heaven ; and oh that it might be so on Earth." After which Words he said, " I have lived to see this World is made up of Perturbations, and I have been long preparing to leave it, and gathering Comfort for the dreadful Hour of making my Account with GOD, which I now apprehend to be near ; and though I have by his Grace lov'd Him in my Youth, and fear'd Him in my Age, and labour'd to have a Conscience void of Offence to Him, and to all Men ; yet, if Thou, O LORD, be extreme to mark what I have done amiss, who can abide it ? And therefore, where I have failed, LORD shew Mercy to me, for I plead not my Righteousness, but the Forgiveness of my Unrighteousness, for his Merits who died to purchase Pardon for penitent Sinners ; and since I owe Thee a Death, LORD let it not be terrible, and then take thy own Time, I submit to it ; let not mine, O LORD, but let thy Will be done ;" with which Expression, he fell into a Slumber, recovering from which he said, " Good Doctor, God hath heard my daily Petitions, for I am at Peace with all Men, and He is at Peace with me ; and from that blessed Assurance I feel that inward Joy, which this World can neither give nor take from me." More he would have spoken, but his Spirits failed him ; and after a short Conflict betwixt Nature and Death, a quiet Sigh put a Period to his last Breath, and so he fell asleep.







T H E  
L I F E  
O F

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

**S**IR *Henry Wotton*, was born in the Year 1568, in *Beeton-Hall*, commonly called *Beeton*, or *Boughton Place*, in the Parish of *Beeton Malherb*, in *Kent*.

His Father was twice married, first to *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of *Sir John Rudstone*; after whose Death, though his Inclinations were averse to all Contentions; yet, necessitated he was to several Suits in Law: In the Prosecution whereof, he was by divers of his Friends earnestly persuaded to a Re-marriage; to whom he as often answered, That if ever he did put on a Resolution to marry, he was seriously resolved to avoid three Sorts of Persons, namely, those that had Children; that had Law-suits; and that were of his Kindred.

AND yet, following his own Law-suits, he met in *Westminster-Hall* with one Mrs. *Morton*, Widow to — *Morton*, Esq; who was also engaged in several Suits, and observing her Comportment at the Time of hearing one of her Causes, he could not but at the same Time, both compassionate her Condition, and, so affect her Person, that although there were in her a Concurrence of all those Accidents, against which he had so seriously resolved; yet his Affection grew so strong, that he resolved to solicit her for a Wife, and did, and obtained her.

BY her, he had *Henry* his youngest Son. His Mother undertook to be Tutoress to him during much of his Childhood; for which Care and Pains, he paid her each Day with visible Signs of future Perfection in Learning; till his Father took him into his own Care, and disposed of him to a Tutor in his own House at *Boston*.

WHEN Time and diligent Instruction had made him fit for a Removal, he was sent to *Winchester School*: And hence at a fit Age, removed to *New-College* in *Oxford*; both being founded by *William Wickham*, Bishop of *Winchester*.

THERE he continued, till about the eighteenth Year of his Age: and was then transplanted into *Queen's College*.

ABOUT the nineteenth Year of his Age, he proceeded Master of Arts.

BUT his Stay there was not long; for, the Year after he proceeded Master of Arts, his Father changed this for a better Life; leaving to Sir *Henry*, as to his other younger Sons, a Rent-Charge of an hundred

dred Marks a Year, to be paid for ever, out of one of his Manors.

In *Oxford* he stayed till about two Years after his Father's Death; at which Time, he was about the 22d Year of his Age; and having to his great Wit, added the Ballast of Learning, and Knowledge of the Arts, he then laid aside his Books, and betook himself to Travel, and a more general Conversation with Mankind, employing the remaining Part of his Youth, his Industry and Fortune to adorn his Mind, and to purchase the rich Treasure of foreign Knowledge; of which, both for the Secrets of Nature, the Dispositions of many Nations, their several Laws and Languages, he was the Possessor in a very large Measure.

In his Travels, for almost nine Years, he stayed but one Year in *France*, and most of that in *Geneva*; where he became acquainted with *Theodore Beza*, then very aged, and with *Isaac Causabon*, in whose Father's House, if I be rightly informed, Sir Henry Wotton lodged, and there contracted a most worthy Friendship with him and his learned Son.

THREE of the remaining eight Years, were spent in *Germany*, the other five in *Italy*, the Stage on which GOD appointed he should act a great Part of his Life; where both in *Rome*, *Venice*, and *Florence*, he became acquainted with the most eminent Men for Learning, and all Manner of Arts, as Picture, Sculpture, Chymistry, Architecture, and divers other manual Arts; even Arts of inferior Nature; of all which, he was a most dear Lover, and a most excellent Judge.

He returned into *England* about the 30th Year of his Age, being then noted by many, both for his

Person and Comportment; for indeed he was of a choice Shape, tall of Stature, and of a most persuasive Behaviour; which was so mixed with sweet Discourse, and Civilities, as gained him much Love from all Persons with whom he entred into an Acquaintance.

AND whereas he was noted in his Youth to have a sharp Wit; that, by Time, Travel, and Conversation, was so polish'd, that his Company seem'd to be one of the Delights of Mankind; inso-much, as *Robert Earl of Essex*, then in great Favour with *Queen Elizabeth*, invited him first into a Friendship, and after a Knowledge of his great Abilities, to be one of his Secretaries.

SIR *Henry* being now taken into a serviceable Friendship with the *Earl of Essex*, did personally attend his Counsels and Employments in two Voyages at Sea against the *Spaniards*, and also in that, which was the *Earl's* last, into *Ireland*; that Voyage wherein he did so much provoke the *Queen* to Anger, and worse at his Return into *England*; upon whose immovable Favour he had built such sandy Hopes, as encouraged him to those Undertakings which, with the help of a contrary Faction, suddenly caused his Commitment to the Tower.

SIR *Henry Wotton* observing this, though he was not of that Faction, for the *Earl's* Followers were also divided into their several Interests, which encouraged the *Earl* to those Undertakings which proved so fatal to him; yet, knowing Treason to be so comprehensive, as to take in even Circumstances, and out of them to make such Conclusions, as subtle Statesmen shall project; thought Prevention by Absence, a better Security than to stay and plead Innocency in a Prison. Therefore did he, very quickly,



quickly, and privately ride to *Dover*; and was by favourable Winds, within 16 Hours after his Departure from *London*, set upon the *French* Shore; where he heard shortly after, that the Earl was arraigned, condemned, and beheaded; and divers other Persons of eminent Quality executed.

THENCE he went to *Italy*, where he renewed his Friendship with his old Acquaintance in that Nation; and more particularly in *Florence*, which City is not more eminent for the great Duke's Court, then for the great Recourse of Men of choicest Note for Learning and Arts.

AFTER some Stay in *Florence*, he went the fourth Time to visit *Rome*, where in the *English* College he had very many Friends, their Humanity made them really so, though they knew him to be a Dissenter from many of their Principles of Religion; and having enjoyed their Company, returned to *Florence*, where a most notable Accident befell him; introduced him into a Knowledge and an Interest with King *James*, then King of *Scotland*.

IMMEDIATELY after Sir *Henry Wotton's* Return from *Rome* to *Florence*, which was about a Year before the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, *Ferdinand* the great Duke of *Florence* had intercepted certain Letters that discovered a Design to take away the Life of the then King of *Scots*. The Duke abhorring the Fact, advised with his Secretary *Vietta*, by what Means a Caution might be best given to that King; and after Consideration, it was resolved to be done by Sir *Henry Wotton*, whom *Vietta* commended to the Duke.

SIR *Henry* was gladly called by *Vietta* to the Duke, who after much Profession of Trust and Friendship, acquainted

him with the Secret; and dispatched him into *Scotland* with Letters to the King, and with those Letters, such *Italian* Antidotes against Poison, as the *Scots* till then had been Strangers to.

HAVING parted from the Duke, he took up the Name and Language of an *Italian*; and thinking it best to avoid the Line of *English* Intelligence, he posted into *Norway*, and through that Country towards *Scotland*, where he found the King at *Sterling*; then he used Means, by *Bernard Lindsey*, one of the King's Bed-Chamber, to procure him a speedy and private Conference with his Majesty; assuring him, "That the Business which he was to negotiate, was of such Consequence, as had caused the great Duke of *Tuscany*, to enjoin him suddenly to leave *Italy*, to impart it to his King."

THIS being by *Bernard Lindsey* made known to the King, the King after a little Wonder, mixt with Jealousy, to hear of an *Italian* Ambassador, required his Name, which was said to be *Ottavio Baldi*, and appointed him to be heard privately at a fixed Hour that Evening.

WHEN *Ottavio Baldi* came to the Presence-Chamber-Door, he was requested to lay aside his long Rapier, which *Italian*-like he then wore, and being entered the Chamber, he found there with the King three or four *Scotch* Lords, standing distant in several Corners of the Chamber. At the Sight of whom, he made a Stand; which the King observing, "bad him be bold, and deliver his Message, for he would undertake for the Secrecy of all that were present." Then did *Ottavio Baldi* deliver his Letters and his Message to the King in *Italian*; which, when the King had graciously received, after a little Pause, *Ottavio Baldi* steps to the Table,

Table, and whispers to the King in his own Language, that he was an *English* Man, beseeching him for a more private Conference with his Majesty; and, that he might be concealed during his Stay in that Nation; which was promised, and performed by the King, during his Abode there; of about three Months; all which Time was spent with much Pleasantness to the King, and, with as much to *Octavio Baldi* himself as that Country could afford:

To the Duke at *Florence* he returned with a grateful Account of his Employment, and within some few Months there came News to *Florence* that Queen *Elizabeth* was dead, and *James* proclaimed King of *England*. The Duke knowing Travel and Business to be the best Schools of Wisdom, and that Sir *Henry Wotton* had been tutored in both, advised him to return presently to *England*, and joy the King with his new and better Title.

WHEN King *James* came into *England*, he found, amongst other of the late Queen's Officers, the Lord *Wotton*, Comptroller of the House; of whom he demanded, if he knew one *Henry Wotton*, that had spent much Time in foreign Travels? The Lord replied, he knew him well, and that he was his Brother. Then the King asking where he then was, was answered, at *Venice*, or *Florence*; but by late Letters, he understood he would suddenly be at *Paris*. 'Send for him, said the King, and when he shall come into *England*, bid him repair to me.' The Lord *Wotton*, after a little Wonder, asked the King if he knew him? To which the King answered, 'You must rest unsatisfied of that, 'till you bring the Gentleman to me.'

Not many Months after this Discourse, the Lord *Wotton* brought his Brother to attend the King,

King, who took him in his Arms, and bade him Welcome by the Name of *Octavio Baldi*, saying, "he was the most honest, and therefore the best Dissembler that ever he met with: And said, Seeing I know you neither want Learning, Travel, nor Experience, and that I have had so real a Testimony of your Faithfulness and Abilities to manage an Embassage, I have sent for you to declare my Purpose; which is, to make use of you in that Kind hereafter." And indeed the King did most of those two and twenty Years of his Reign; but before he dismissed *Octavio Baldi* from his Attendance, he restored him to his old Name of *Henry Wotton*, by which he then knighted him.

NOT long after this, the King having resolved, to have a Friendship with his Neighbour Kingdoms of *France* and *Spain*, and also for divers weighty Reasons, to enter into an Alliance with the State of *Venice*, and to that End to send Embassadors to those several Places, did propose the Choice of these Employments to Sir *Henry Wotton*; who inclined most to that of *Venice*, as being a Place of more Retirement, and best suiting with his Genius, who did ever love to join with Business, Study, and a Trial of natural Experiments; for both which, fruitful *Italy*, that Darling of Nature, and Cherisher of all Arts, is so justly famed in all Parts of the Christian World.

A LARGE Allowance being appointed by the King for his Voyage thither, and a settled Maintenance during his Stay there, he left *England*, nobly accompanied through *France* to *Venice*, by Gentlemen of the best Families; Sir *Albertus Morton* his Nephew, went his Secretary, and *William Bedel*, a Man of choice Learning, and sanctified Wisdom, went his Chaplain.



FOR eight Years after Sir *Henry Wotton's* going into *Italy*, he stood fair, and highly valued in the King's Opinion, but at last became much clouded by an Accident, which I shall proceed to relate.

AT his first going Embassador into *Italy*, as he passed through *Germany*, he was requested by *Christopher Flecamore* to write some Sentence in his *Albo* (a Book of white Paper, which for that Purpose, many of the *German* Gentry usually carry about them) and Sir *Henry Wotton* consenting, took an Occasion, from some accidental Discourse, to write a pleasant Definition of an Embassador, in these Words.

*Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentiendum  
Reipublicæ causâ.*

It slept quietly among other Sentences in this *Albo* almost eight Years, till by Accident it fell into the Hands of *Jasper Scioppius*, a Romanist, a Man of a restless Spirit; who with Books against King *James*, prints this as a Principle of that Religion professed by the King and his Embassador at *Venice*; and in *Venice* it was presently after written in several Glass-Windows, and declared to be Sir *Henry Wotton's*.

THIS coming to the Knowledge of King *James*, he apprehended it to be such a Weakness in Sir *Henry Wotton*, as caused the King to express much Wrath against him; and this caused Sir *Henry* to write an Apology to King *James*, which was both so ingenious, so clear, and so eloquent, that his Majesty could not forbear to declare publicly, Sir *Henry Wotton* had commuted sufficiently for a greater Offence.

AND now, as broken Bones well set become stronger, so Sir *Henry Wotton* did not only recover,

ver, but was much more confirmed in his Majesty's Favour than formerly he had been.

His Interest still increased with the Duke *Leonardo Donato*; after whose Death (as though it had been an intailed Love) it was still found living in the succeeding Dukes, during all the Time of his Employment to that State; which was almost twenty Years. And such was his Interest in the whole State of *Venice*, that it was observed they never denied him any Request. Under his Arms, which he left at all those Houses where he rested, or lodged, when he returned from his last Embassy into *England*, he wrote this Inscription.

HENRICUS WOTTONIUS *Anglo-Cantianus*, *Thomæ optimi viri filius natu minimus*, à *serenissimo Jacobo I. Mag. Britt. Rege*, in *equestrem titulum adscitus*, *ejusdemque ter ad Rempublicam Venetam Legatus Ordinarius*, *semel ad confæderatarum Provinciarum Ordines in Juliacensi negotio*. Bis ad *Carolum Emanuel, Sabaudia Ducem*; *semel ad unitos superioris Germaniæ Principes in Conventu Heilbrunensi*, *postremo ad Archiducem Leopoldum, Ducem Wittembergensem*, *Civitates imperiales, Argentinam, Ulmiamque*, & *ipsum Romanorum Imperatorem Ferdinandum secundum*, *Legatus Extraordinarius*, *tandem hoc didicit*,

Animas fieri sapientiores quiescendo.

He came to *London* the Year in which King *James* died; who for the Reward of his foreign Service, promised him the Reversion of an Office, which was fit to be turned into present Money, for a Supply of his present Necessities; and also granted him the Reversion of the Master of the Rolls Place, if he out-lived Sir *Julius Cæsar*, who then possessed it.

BUT

BUT these were in Hope; and his Condition required a present Support: For in the Beginning of these Employments he sold to his elder Brother, the Lord *Wotton*, the Rent-charge left by his good Father; and (which is worse) was now at his Return indebted to several Persons whom he was not able to satisfy, but by the King's Payment of his Arrears due for his foreign Employments.

IT pleased GOD, that in this Juncture of Time, the Provostship of his Majesty's College of *Eaton* became void. Sir *Henry*, who had for many Years (like *Sisyphus*) rolled the restless Stone of a State Employment; and knowing experimentally, that the great Blessing of sweet Content was not to be found in Multitudes of Men or Business; and, that a College was the fittest Place to nourish holy Thoughts, and to afford Rest both to his Body and Mind, which his Age (being now almost threescore Years) seemed to require, did therefore use his Interest to procure it, and he got a Grant of it from his Majesty.

HERE his Happiness seemed to have its Beginning, the College being to his Mind, as a quiet Harbour to a Sea-faring-man after a tempestuous Voyage; where, by the Bounty of the pious Founder, his very Food and Rayment were plentifully provided for him in kind; where he was freed from all corroding Cares, and might sit in a Calm, and looking down, behold the busy Multitude tossed in a tempestuous Sea of Dangers!

BEING thus settled according to the Desires of his Heart, his first Study was the Statutes of the College: By which he conceived himself bound to enter into Holy Orders, which he did; shortly after, as he came in his Surplice from the Church-

Service, an old Friend, a Person of Quality, met him so attired, and joyed him of his new Habit; to whom Sir *Henry Wotton* replied, "I thank God and the King, by whose Goodness I now am in this Condition; a Condition which the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth seemed to approve: Who, after so many remarkable Victories, freely gave up his Crown: And after a tempestuous Life, I now have the like Advantage from him, *that makes the Out-goings of the Morning to praise Him*; even from my God, whom I daily magnify for this particular Mercy, of an Exemption from Business, a quiet Mind, and a liberal Maintenance, even in this Part of my Life, when my Age and Infirmities seem to sound me a Retreat, and invite me to Contemplation, in which I have ever taken the greatest Felicity."

AND now to speak a little of the Employment of his Time: After his customary publick Devotions, his Use was to retire into his Study, and there to spend some Hours in reading the Bible, and Authors in Divinity, closing up his Meditations with private Prayer; this was, for the most Part, his Employment in the Forenoon. When he was sat to Dinner, chearful Thoughts possessed his Mind; and those still increased by constant Company, of such Persons as brought thither Additions both of Learning and Pleasure; but part of most Days were spent in Philosophical Conclusions.

HE was a constant Cherisher of all those Youths in that School, in whom he found either Diligence, or a Genius to Learning; for whose Encouragement he was (beside many other Things) at the Charge of setting up in it two Rows of Pillars, on which he caused to be drawn, the Pictures of di-

vers



vers of the most famous *Greek* and *Latin* Historians, Poets, and Orators, perswading them not to neglect Rhetorick, because Almighty God has left Mankind Affections to be wrought upon. And he would often say, That none despised Eloquence but such as were not capable of it. He would also often make Choice of some Observations out of those Historians and Poets; and would never leave the School, without dropping some choice *Greek* or *Latin* Sentence, that might be worthy of a Room in the Memory of a growing Scholar.

HE was pleased constantly to breed up one or more hopeful Youths, whom he picked out of the School, and took into his own domestick Care; out of whose Discourse and Behaviour, he gathered Observations for the better compleating of his intended Work of Education.

HE was a great Enemy to wrangling Disputes of Religion.

HAVING in *Rome* made Acquaintance with a Priest, who invited him one Evening to hear their Vesper Musick; the Priest seeing Sir Henry stand in a Corner, sends to him this Question, writ in a small Piece of Paper, *Where was your Religion to be found before Luther?* To which Question Sir Henry presently underwrit, *My Religion was to be found then, where yours is not to be found now, in the written Word of God.*

THE next Vesper, Sir Henry went purposely to the same Church, and sent one of the Quire-boys with this Question, to his honest Friend the Priest; *Do you believe all those Thousands of poor Christians were damned, that were excommunicated, because the Pope and the Duke of Venice could not agree?* To

which he under-writ in *French*, *Monsieur, excusez-moy*.

To one that asked him, Whether a Papist may be saved? He replied, "You may be saved without knowing that. Look to yourself".

To another, whose Earnestness exceeded his Knowledge, and was still railing against the Papists, he gave this Advice, "Pray, Sir, forbear, till you have studied the Points better: And take heed of thinking, The farther you go from the Church of *Rome* the nearer you are to GOD."

AND to another that spake indiscreet, and bitter Words against *Arminius*, I heard him reply to this Purpose:

"IN my Travel towards *Venice*, as I past thro' *Germany*, I rested almost a Year at *Leyden*, where I entered into an Acquaintance with *Arminius* (then the Professor of Divinity in that University) a Man much talked of in this Age, which is made up of Opposition and Controversy: And indeed, if I mistake not *Arminius* in his Expressions, I differ from him in some Points; yet I profess my Judgment of him to be, that he was a Man of most rare Learning; and I knew him to be of a most strict Life, and of a most meek Spirit. And that he was so mild, appears by his Proposals to our Master *Perkins*, from whose Book, of the *Order and Causes of Salvation*, *Arminius* took the Occasion of writing some Queries to him concerning the Consequents of his Doctrine, intending them to come privately to Mr. *Perkin's* own Hands, and to receive from him, a like private, and a like loving Answer. But Mr. *Perkins* died before those Queries came to him; and it is thought *Arminius* meant

meant them to die with him; for though he lived long after, he forbore to publish them, but since his Death, his Sons did not: And it is a Pity, if God had so pleased, that Mr. *Perkins* did not live to see, consider, and answer those Proposals himself; for he was also of a most meek Spirit; and of great sanctified Learning: And though since their Deaths many have undertaken to clear the Controversy, yet they have rather satisfied themselves, than convinced the dissenting Party. And doubtless, many Men (which may mean well) many Scholars, which may preach well, shall never know, till they come to Heaven, where the Questions stick betwixt *Arminius* and us. And yet they will be tampering with, and thereby perplexing the Controversy, and therefore justly fall under the Reproof of St. *Jude*, for being *Busy-bodies*, and for meddling with Things they understand not."

A FRIEND of his being designed for an Ambassador, came to *Eaton*, and requested from him some experimental Rules for his Carriage; to whom he smilingly gave this for an infallible Aphorism; *That to be in Safety himself, and serviceable to his Country, he should always, and upon all Occasions speak the Truth; for (says Sir Henry Wotton) you shall never be believed; and by this Means, your Truth will secure yourself, if you shall ever be called to any Account; and it will also put your Adversaries (who will still hunt counter) to a Loss in all their Disquisitions and Undertakings.*

He went usually once a Year, to the beloved *Boston-bath*, where he would say, he found both Cure for all Cares, by the Company (which he called the living Furniture) of that Place; and, a Restorative of his Strength, by the Connaturalness of that, which he called his genial Air.

HE yearly went also to *Oxford*. But the Summer before his Death he changed that for a Journey to *Winchester-College*. As he returned from *Winchester*, towards *Eaton-College*, he said to a Friend, "How usefull was that Advice of a holy Monk, who perswaded his Friend to perform his customary Devotions in a constant Place; because in that Place, we usually meet with those very Thoughts which possessed us at our last being there. And I find it thus far experimentally true; that my now being in that School, and seeing that very Place where I sat when I was a Boy, occasioned me to remember those very Thoughts of my Youth which then possessed me: Sweet Thoughts indeed, that promised my growing Years numerous Pleasures, without Mixture of Cares; and those to be enjoyed, when Time (which I therefore thought slow) had changed my Youth into Manhood. But Age and Experience have taught me, that those were but empty Hopes. And though my Days have been many, and those mixt with more Pleasures, than the Sons of Men usually enjoy; yet I have always found it true, as my Saviour foretold, *Sufficient for the Day is the Evil thereof*. Nevertheless, I saw there a Succession of Boys using the same Recreations; and questionless possessed with the same Thoughts that then possessed me. Thus one Generation succeeds another, both in their Lives, Recreations, Hopes, Fears, and Deaths."

AFTER his return from *Winchester* he fell into a dangerous Fever, which weakened him much: He was also much troubled with an Asthma, but that he seemed to overcome in a good Degree by leaving Tobacco. About two Months before his Death, in *October* 1639, he again fell into a Fever, which left him so weak, that those common

Infr.



Infirmities which were wont to visit him, and after some short Time to depart, came both oftner, and at last took up their constant Habitations with him, still weakening his Body; of which he grew daily more sensible, retiring oftner into his Study, and making many Papers that had past his Pen, both in the Days of his Youth and Business, useless by Fire. These, and several unusual Expressions to his Friends, seemed to foretell his Death, for which he was well prepared, free from all Fear, and chearful; as several Letters writ in his Bed, and but a few Days before his Death, may testify. In the Beginning of *December* following, he fell again into a Quartan Fever, and in the tenth Fit, his better Part, put off Mortality with much Content and Chearfulness; being in perfect Peace with GOD and Man.

AND thus the Circle of his Life was, by Death, closed up and compleated, in the 72<sup>d</sup> Year of his Age, at *Eaton College*, where, according to his Will, he now lies buried; dying worthy of his Name and Family, worthy of the Love and Favour of so many Princes, and Persons of eminent Wisdom and Learning, worthy of the Trust committed unto him, for the Service of his Prince and Country.





THE  
L I F E  
O F  
Dr. D O N N E.

**D**R. JOHN DONNE was born in *London*, of good and virtuous Parents. He had his first Breeding in his Father's House, where a private Tutor had the Care of him, until the ninth Year of his Age; and, in his tenth Year he was sent to the University of *Oxford*, having at that Time a good Command both of the *French* and *Latin* Tongues. This and some other of his remarkable Abilities, made one say, That this Age had brought forth another *Picus Mirandula*; of whom Story says, That he was rather born than made wise by Study.

He remained in *Hart-Hall*, having for the Advancement of his Studies, Tutors of several Sciences to instruct him, till about his fourteenth Year; he was transplanted from *Oxford* to *Cambridge*; where, he staid till his seventeenth Year; all which Time he was a most laborious Student.

ABOUT

ABOUT the seventeenth Year of his Age he was removed to *London*, and admitted into *Lincoln's-Inn*, with an Intent to study the Law; where he gave great Testimonies of his Wit, his Learning, and of his Improvement in that Profession: Which never served him for other Use than an Ornament and Satisfaction.

HIS Father died before his Admission into this Society; and being a Merchant, left him his Portion in Money, it was 3000*l*. His Mother, and those, to whose Care he was committed, were watchful to improve his Knowledge, and to that End appointed him Tutors in the Mathematicks, and all the Liberal Sciences. But with these Arts they were advised to instill particular Principles of the *Romish Church*, of which those Tutors profest, though secretly, themselves to be Members.

HE was now entered into the eighteenth Year of his Age, and had at that Time betrothed himself to no Religion that might give him any other Denomination than a Christian. And Reason and Piety had both perswaded him, that there could be no such Sin as Schism, if an Adherence to some visible Church were not necessary.

HE did therefore at his Entrance into the nineteenth Year of his Age, begin to survey the Body of Divinity, as it was then controverted betwixt the Reformed and the *Roman Church*. And as GOD's blessed Spirit did then awaken him to the Search, and in that Industry did never forsake him (they be his own Words) so he calls the same holy Spirit to witness this Protestation; that, in that Disquisition and Search, he proceeded with Humility and Diffidence in himself; and by that which he took to be the safest Way; namely, frequent Prayers, and an indifferent Affec-  
tion

tion to both Parties; and indeed Truth had too much Light about her to be hid from so sharp an Enquirer, and he had too much Ingenuity not to acknowledge he had found her.

THE Year following he resolved to travel, and the Earl of *Essex* going first the *Cales*, and after the *Island Voyages*, he took the Advantage of those Opportunities, waited upon his Lordship, and was an Eye-witness of those happy and unhappy Employments.

BUT he returned not back into *England*, till he had staid some Years first in *Italy*, and then in *Spain*, where he made many useful Observations of those Countries, their Laws and Manner of Government, and returned perfect in their Languages.

THE Time that he spent in *Spain* was at his first going into *Italy*, designed for travelling the *Holy-Land*; but the Disappointment of Company, or of a safe Convoy, denied him that Happiness.

NOT long after his Return into *England*, that exemplary Pattern of Wisdom the Lord *Elsmore*, then Keeper of the Great Seal, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, taking Notice of his Learning, and other Abilities, took him to be his chief Secretary, intending it to be an Introduction to some more weighty Employment.

HE continued that Employment for five Years, being daily useful to his Friends. During which Time he fell into such a Liking, as, with her Approbation, increased into a Love with a young Gentlewoman that lived in that Family, who was

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Niece to the Lady *Elsmore*, and Daughter to Sir *George Moor*, then Chancellor of the Garter, and Lieutenant of the Tower. Sometime after, he married her privately.

THIS was made known to Sir *George*, by his honourable Friend and Neighbour *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*; But it so transported him, that he presently engaged his Sister the Lady *Elsmore*, to join with him to procure her Lord to discharge Mr. *Donne* of the Place he held under his Lordship.

NOR did this satisfy Sir *George*, 'till Doctor *Samuel Brook*, who married him, his Brother Mr. *Christopher Brook*, who gave her away, and Mr. *Donne*, were committed to three several Prisons.

Mr. *Donne* was first enlarged, who neither gave Rest to his Body or Brain; nor to any Friend in whom he had an Interest, until he had procured an Enlargement for his two Friends.

He was now at Liberty, but his Days were still cloudy; and being past these Troubles, others did still multiply upon him; his Wife was, to her extreme Sorrow, detained from him; and he was forced to make good his Title to her, and to get Possession of her by a long and restless Suit in Law, which proved troublesome and chargeable to him, whose Youth and Travel, and needless Bounty, had brought his Estate into a narrow Compass.

BUT his Wants were prevented by the seasonable Courtesy of their noble Kinsman Sir *Francis Walsley* of *Pirford* in *Surry*, who intreated them

to a Cohabitation with him; where they remained with much Freedom to themselves, and equal Content to him for many Years; and, as their Charge increased (she had yearly a Child) so did his Love and Bounty.

AT 1<sup>ny</sup>th Dr. *Morton*, the most laborious and learned Bishop of *Durham*, one that God had blessed with perfect Intellectuals, and a chearful Heart at the Age of Ninety-four Years, sent for Mr. *Donne*, and spake to this Purpose; "Mr. *Donne*, the Occasion of sending for you is to propose to you what I have revolved in my own Thought since I last saw you; which nevertheless, I will not do but upon this Condition, that you shall not return me a present Answer, but forbear three Days, and bestow some Part of that Time in Fasting and Prayer; and after a serious Consideration of what I shall propose, then return to me with your Answer."

THIS Request being granted, he express'd himself thus: "Mr. *Donne*, I know your Education and Abilities; I know your Expectation of a State-Employment, and I know your Fitness for it; I know too the many Delays and Contingencies that attend Court Promises; and let me tell you, my Love begot by our long Friendship, hath prompted me to such an Inquisition of your present temporal Estate, as makes me no Stranger to your Necessities: You know I have formerly persuaded you to wave your Court Hopes, and enter into Holy Orders; which I now again persuade you to embrace, with this Reason added to my former Request: The King hath Yesterday made me Dean of *Gloucester*, and I am possessed of a Benefice, the Profits of which are equal to those of my Deanry; I will think my Deanry  
enough

enough for my Maintenance who am, and resolve) to die a single Man) and will quit my Benefice, and give it you, if God shall incline your Heart to embrace this Motion. Remember Mr. *Donne*, no Man's Education or Parts make him too good for this Employment, which is to be an Ambassadour for the God of Glory, who by a vile Death opened the Gates of Life to Mankind. Make me no present Answer, but remember your Promise, and return to me the third Day with your Resolution."

AT the hearing of this, Mr. *Donne's* faint Breath and perplexed Countenance, gave a visible Testimony of an inward Conflict; but he performed his Promise and departed without returning an Answer till the third Day, and then it was to this Effect:

"My most worthy Friend, since I saw you I have been faithful to my Promise, and have also meditated much of your great Kindness, though I may not accept of your Offer; but, Sir, my Refusal is not for that I think myself too good for that Calling, for which Kings, if they think so, are not good enough: Nor for that my Education and Learning, though not eminent, may not, being assisted by God's Grace and Humility, render me in some Measure fit for it; but I dare make so dear a Friend as you are my Confessor: Some Irregularities of my Life have been so visible to some Men, that though I have, I thank God, made my Peace with him, yet this, which God knows to be so, is not so visible to Man, as to free me from their Censures, and it may be that sacred Calling from a Dishonour. And, besides, whereas it is determined by the best of Casuists, that God's Glory should be the first End, and a

*Maintenance the second Motive to embrace that Calling; and though each Man may propose to himself both together; yet the first may not be put last without a Violation of Conscience, which he that searches the Heart will judge. And truly my present Condition is such, that if I ask my own Conscience, whether it be reconcileable to that Rule it is at this Time so perplexed about it, that I can never give myself nor you an Answer. You know, Sir, who says, *Happy is that Man whose Conscience doth not accuse him for that Thing which he does.*"*

THIS was his present Resolution, but the Heart of Man is not in his own Keeping; and he was destined to this sacred Service by an higher Hand; a Hand so powerful, as at last forced him to a Compliance.

Mr. *Donne* and his Wife continued with Sir *Francis Wally* 'till his Death; A little before which Time, Sir *Francis* was so happy as to make a perfect Reconciliation betwixt Sir *George* and his forsaken Son and Daughter; Sir *George* conditioning by Bond to pay Mr. *Donne* 800*l.* at a certain Day, as a Portion with his Wife, or 20*l.* Quarterly for their Maintenance, as the Interest for it, till the said Portion was paid.

MOST of those Years that he lived with Sir *Francis*, he studied the Civil and Cannon Laws; in which he acquired such a Perfection, as was judged to hold Proportion with many who had made that Study the Employment of their whole Life.

SIR *Francis* being dead, and that happy Family dissolved, Mr. *Donne* took an House at *Mitcham*



*cham*, near *Croydon* in *Surry*, there his Wife and Children remained ; and for himself he took Lodgings in *London*, near *White-hall*, whither his Friends and Occasions drew him very often, and where he was as often visited by many of the Nobility and others, who used him in their Councils of greatest Consideration.

NOR did our own Nobility only value and favour him, but his Acquaintance and Friendship was sought for by most Ambassadors of foreign Nations, and by many other Strangers, whose Learning or Business occasioned their Stay in this Nation.

HE was much importuned by many Friends to make his constant Residence in *London*, but he still denied it, having settled his dear Wife and Children at *Mitcham*, and near some Friends that were bountiful to them and him ; for they, God knows needed it ; and that you may the better now judge of the then Condition of his Mind and Fortune, I shall present you with an Extract out of some of his Letters.

THE Reason why I did not send an Answer to your last Week's Letter, was, because it found me under too great a Sadness ; and at present 'tis thus with me : There is not one Person but myself, well of my Family : I have already lost half a Child, and with that Mischance of hers, my Wife is fallen into such a Discomposure, as would afflict her extremely, but that the Sickness of all her Children stupifies her ; of one of which, I have not much Hope ; and these meet with a Fortune so ill provided for Physick, and such Relief, that if God should ease us with Burials,

I know not how to perform even that ; but I flatter myself with this Hope, that I am dying too, for I cannot waste faster than by such Griefs.

From my Hospital  
at Micham,  
Aug. 10.

John Donne.

**W**E hardly discover a Sin, when it is but an Omission of some Good, and no accusing Act; with this or the former, I have often suspected myself to be overtaken, which is, with an over earnest Desire of the next Life; and though I know it is not merely a Weariness of this, because I had the same Desire when I went with the Tide, and enjoyed fairer Hopes; yet I doubt worldly Troubles have increased it. It is now Spring, and all the Pleasures of it displease me; every Tree blossoms and I wither: I grow older and not better; my Strength diminisheth and my Load grows heavier; and yet, I would fain be or do something; but I cannot tell what. I began early when I understood the Study of our Laws; but was diverted by leaving that and embracing the worst Voluptuousness, an hydropique immoderate Desire of human Learning and Languages. Beautiful Ornaments indeed to Men of great Fortunes; but mine was grown so low as to need an Occupation; which I thought I entered well into, when I subjected myself to such a Service as I thought might exercise my poor Abilities; and there I stumbled, and fell too: And now I am become so little, or such a nothing, that I am not a Subject good enough for one of my own Letters. I fear my present Discontent does not proceed from a good Root, that I am so well content to be nothing, that is, dead. But, Sir, though my Fortune hath made me such, as that I am rather a Sickness or a Disease of the World, than any Part of it, and

and therefore neither love it nor Life; yet I would gladly live to become some such Thing as you should not repent loving me: Sir, your own Soul cannot be more zealous of your Good than I am, and God who loves that Zeal in me, will not suffer you to doubt it. You would pity me now, if you saw me write, for my Pain hath drawn my Head so much awry, and holds it so, that my Eye cannot follow my Pen. I therefore receive you into my Prayers with my own weary Soul, and commend myself to yours. I doubt not but next Week will bring you good News, for I have either mending or dying on my Side: But, if I do continue longer thus, I shall have Comfort in this, That my blessed Saviour in exercising his Justice upon my two Worldly Parts, my Fortune and my Body, reserves his Mercy for that which most needs it, my Soul; that is, I doubt, too like a Porter, which is very often near the Gate, and yet goes not out. Sir, I profess to you truly, that my Elothness to give over Writing now, seems to myself a Sign, that I shall write no more.

Your poor Friend,

And God's poor Patient,

John Donne.

By this you have seen a Part of his Perplexities. And thus it continued with him for about two Years; all which Time his Family remained at *Mitcham*, to which Place he often retired himself, and destin'd some Days to Study; and to that Place and such Studies he could willingly have wedded himself during his Life: But the earnest Persuasion of Friends became at last so powerful as to cause the Removal of himself and Family to

London, where Sir Robert Dreury, a Gentleman of very noble Estate, and a more liberal Mind, assigned him a House Rent-free, next to his own House in *Dreury-Lane*; and was also a Cherisher of his Studies, and such a Friend as sympathized with him and his in all their Joy and Sorrow,

ABOUT three Years after, having then overcome his Scruples, he was ordained both Deacon and Priest.

AND now all his Studies, which had been occasionally diffused, were concentrated in Divinity. Now he had a new Calling, new Thoughts, and a new Employment for his Wit and Eloquence. Now all his earthly Affections were changed into divine; and all the Faculties of his own Soul were engaged in the Conversion of others: In preaching the glad Tidings of Remission to repenting Sinners; and Peace to each troubled Soul. To these he apply'd himself with all Care and Diligence; and now such a Change was wrought in him, that he could say with *David*, *Oh how amiable are thy Tabernacles, O LORD GOD of Hosts!* Now he declared openly, That when he required a temporal, God gave him a spiritual Blessing. And that, he was gladder to be a Door-keeper in the House of God, than he could be to enjoy the noblest of all temporal Employments.

PRESENTLY after the King sent for him, and made him his Chaplain in Ordinary; and promised to take a particular Care of his Preferment.

AND though his long Familiarity with Scholars and Persons of the greatest Quality, was such as might have given some Men Boldness to have preached to any eminent Auditory, yet his Modesty



was such, that he could not be persuaded to it, but went usually accompanied with some one Friend, to preach privately in some Village not far from *London*; his first Sermon being preached at *Paddington*. This he did, 'till his Majesty sent and appointed him a Day to preach to him at *Whitehall*, and, though much were expected from him, both by his Majesty and others, yet he was so happy (which few are) as to exceed their Expectations; preaching the Word To, as shewed his own Heart was possess'd with those very Thoughts and Joys that he laboured to instill into others: A Preacher in earnest, weeping sometimes for his Auditory, sometimes with them: Always preaching to himself, like an Angel from a Cloud, but in none; carrying some, as *St. Paul* was, to Heaven in holy Raptures, and enticing others by a sacred Art to amend their Lives; here picturing a Vice so as to make it ugly to those that practised it; and a Virtue so, as to make it be beloved even by those that loved it not.

THAT Summer, in the same Month in which he entred into sacred Orders, and was made the King's Chaplain, his Majesty going his Progress, was entreated to receive an Entertainment in the University of *Cambridge*: And Mr. *Donne* attending him, his Majesty was pleased to recommend him to the University, to be made Doctor in Divinity.

His Abilities and Industry in his Profession were so eminent, that within the first Year of his entring into sacred Orders, he had fourteen Advowsons of several Benefices presented to him; but he would not leave *London*, having there contracted a Friendship with many, whose Conversation multiply'd the Joys of his Life.

IMMEDIATELY after his Return from Cambridge his Wife died, leaving him a Man of an unsettled Estate, and (having buried five) the careful Father of seven Children then living; to whom he gave a voluntary Assurance never to bring them under the Subjection of a Step-mother; which Promise he kept most faithfully, burying with his Tears all his earthly Joys in his dear and deserving Wife's Grave; betaking himself to a most retired and solitary Life.

IN this Retiredness, which was often from the Sight of his dearest Friends, he became crucified to the World, and all those imaginary Pleasures that are daily acted on that restless Stage; and they crucified to him. Nor is it hard to think but that that abundant Affection which once was between him and her, who had long been the Delight of his Eyes, the Companion of his Youth; her, with whom he had divided so many pleasant Sorrows and contented Fears. She, being now removed by Death, Grief took as full a Possession of him as Joy had done; and so indeed it did: Sadness now took so full a Possession of his Heart, as to leave no Place for Joy: If it did, It was a Joy to be alone, where like a Pelican in the Wilderness, he might bemoan himself without Witness or Restraint, and pour forth his Passions like Job in the Days of his Affliction, *Oh that I might have the Desire of my Heart! Oh that GOD would grant the Thing that I long for!* for then, as the Grave is become her House, so I would hasten to make it mine also; that we two might there make our Beds together in the Dark. Thus he began the Day, and ended the Night; ended the restless Night, and began the weary Day with Lamentations. And thus he continued 'till a Consideration of his new Engagements to God, and St. Paul's

*Who is me, if I preach not the Gospel,* dispersed those Clouds that had benighted his Hopes, and forced him to behold the Light.

His first Motion from his House was to preach where his beloved Wife lay buried (in *St. Clement's Church, near Temple-Bar, London*) and his Text was a Part of the Prophet *Jeremiah's* Lamentation: *Lo, I am the Man that hath seen Affliction.*

AND indeed, his very Words and Looks testified him to be truly such a Man; and they, with the Addition of his Sighs and Tears, express'd in his Sermon, did so work upon the Affections of his Hearers, as melted them into a companionable Sadness.

IN this Time of Sadness he was importuned by the Benchers of *Lincoln's-Inn*, once the Friends of his Youth, to accept of their Lecture. He did so; being most glad to renew his intermitted Friendship with those whom he so much loved, and where he had been a *Saul*, though not to persecute Christianity, yet to neglect it; there to become a *Paul*, and preach Salvation to his beloved Brethren.

AND now his Life was as a shining Light among his old Friends: Now he might say, as *St. Paul* to his *Corinthians*, *Be ye Followers of me, as I of Christ, and walk as ye have me for an Example;* not the Example of a Busy-body, but of a contemplative, an humble, and an holy Life and Conversation.

HERE he continued two Years, preaching faithfully and constantly to them, and they liberally requiring him. About which Time the Emperor of Ger-

Germany died, and the Ralsgrave, who had lately married the Lady *Elizabeth*, the King's only Daughter, was elected and crowned King of *Bohemia*, the unhappy Beginning of many Miseries in that Nation.

KING *James* endeavoured first to prevent, and after to compose the Discords of that discomposed State; and amongst other his Endeavours sent the Earl of *Doncaster* his Ambassador to those unsettled Princes; and by a special Command from his Majesty Dr. *Donne* was appointed to assist and attend that Employment.

At his going he left his Friends of *Lincoln's-Inn*, and they him with much Reluctance: For, though he could not say as *St. Paul*, *Behold you to whom I have preached the Kingdom of GOD, shall from henceforth see my Face no more*; yet he believing himself to be in a Consumption, questioned, and they feared it: All concluding that his troubled Mind, with the help of his unintermitted Studies, hastened the Decays of his weak Body: But GOD turned it to the best; for this Employment did not only divert him from those Studies and sad Thoughts, but seemed to give him a new Life, by a true Occasion of Joy, to be an Eye-witness of the Health of his most dear Mistress the Queen of *Bohemia*; and to be a Witness of that Gladness which she expressed to see him, and to hear his excellent and powerful Preaching.

ABOUT fourteen Months after his Departure out of England, he returned to his Friends of *Lincoln's-Inn*, with his Sorrows moderated, and his Health improved; and there he betook himself to his constant Course of Preaching.



ABOUT a Year after his Return, the Deanry of St. Paul's being vacant, the King bestowed it upon him.

IMMEDIATELY after he came to his Deanry, he employed Work-men to repair and beautify the Chappel; suffering his Eyes and Temples to take no Rest, till he had first beautified the House of God.

THE next Quarter following, when his Father-in-law Sir George Moon, whom Time had made a lover and admirer of him, came to pay to him the twenty Pounds, he said as good Jacob did, when he heard his beloved Son Joseph was alive, *It is enough, You have been kind to me and mine: I know your present Condition is such as not to abound: And I hope mine is, or will be such as not to need it: I will therefore receive no more from you upon that Contract; and in Testimony of it* freely gave him up his Bond.

IMMEDIATELY after his Admission into his Deanry, the Vicarage of St. Dunstan in the West, London, fell to him by the Death of Dr. White, the Advowson of it having been given to him long before by his honourable Friend, Richard Earl of Dorset.

THE next Parliament, which was within that present Year, he was chosen Prolocutor to the Convocation; and about that Time was appointed by his Majesty to preach many occasional Sermons, as at St. Paul's Cross, and other Places: All which Employments he performed to the Admiration of the Representative Body of the whole Clergy of this Nation.

He

HE was once and but once, clouded with the King's Displeasure; and it was about this Time, which was occasioned by some malicious Whisperer, who had told his Majesty, that Dr. *Donne* was become busy in insinuating a Fear of the King's inclining to Popery.

THE King received this News with so much Restlessness, that he would not suffer the Sun to set and leave him under this Doubt; but sent for Dr. *Donne*, and required his Answer to the Accusation; which was so clear and satisfactory, that the King said, "He was right glad he rested no longer under the Suspicion." When the King had said this, Dr. *Donne* kneeled down and thanked his Majesty, and protested his Answer was faithful and free from all Collusion, and therefore desired that he might not rise, till, as in like Cases he always had from God, so he might have from his Majesty, some Assurance that he stood clear in his Opinion. Then the King raised him from his Knees with his own Hands, and protested he believed him; and that he knew he was an honest Man, and doubted not but that he loved him truly. And having thus dismissed him, he called some Lords of his Counsel, and said with much Earnestness, "My Doctor is an honest Man; and My Lords, I was never better satisfied with an Answer then he hath now made me: And I always rejoice when I think that by my Means he became a Divine."

He was made Dean the fiftieth Year of his Age; and in his fifty-fourth Year a dangerous Sickness seized him. But God, as *Job* thankfully acknowledgeth, *preserved his Spirit*, and kept his Intellectuals clear and perfect; yet it continued long

long and threatned him with Death, which he dreaded not.

THIS Sickneſs brought him ſo near the Gates of Death, that he would often ſay, his Recovery was ſupernatural : But that GOD that then reſtored his Health continued it to him, till the fifty-ninth Year of his Life. And then in *Auguſt 1630*, being with his eldeſt Daughter, *Mrs. Harvey*, at *Abury-Hatch* in *Effex*, he fell into a Fever, which with the Help of his conſtant Infirmitie, haſtened him into ſo viſible a Conſumption, that his Beholders might ſay, as *St. Paul* of himſelf, *He dies daily* ; and he might ſay with *Job*, *My Welfare paſſeth away as a Cloud, the Days of my Affliction have taken hold of me, and weary Nights are appointed for me.*

But before I ſpeak of his Death, I would add ſome Observations of his Life, which are not unworthy our Conſideration.

IN his penitential Years, viewing ſome of thoſe Pieces of Poetry looſely ſcattered in his Youth, he wiſhed they had been abortive, or ſo ſhort-lived that his own Eyes had witneſſed their Funerals : But, though he was no Friend to them, he was not ſo fallen out with heavenly Poetry as to forſake that ; no not in his declining Age. Yea, even on his Sick-bed he wrote this Hymn, expreſſing the Joy that poſſeſſed his Soul in the Assurance of GOD's Favour.

### AN HYMN to GOD the Father.

WILT Thou forgive that Sin where I begun,  
Which was my Sin, though it was done before ?

XXVII

N

Wilt

*Wilt Thou forgive that Sin through which I run,  
And do run still, though still I do deplore?  
When Thou hast done, Thou hast not done,  
For I have more.*

*WILT Thou forgive that Sin, which I have won,  
Others to Sin, and made my Sin their Door?  
Wilt Thou forgive that Sin which I did shun  
A Year or two, but wallowed in a Score?  
When Thou hast done, Thou hast not done,  
For I have more.*

*I have a Sin of Fear, that when I've spun  
My last Thread, I shall perish on the Shore:  
Swear by Thyself, that at my Death thy Son  
Shall shine as he shines now, and heretofore;  
And having done that Thou hast done,  
I fear no more.*

I HAVE the rather mentioned this Hymn, for that he caused it to be set to a solemn Tune, and to be often sung to the Organ at St. Paul's Church in his own Hearing; and at his Return from his customary Devotions in that Place, he said, to a Friend, "The Words of this Hymn have restored to me the same Joy that possesseth my Soul in my Sickness when I composed it. And, O the Power of Church Musick! That Harmony added to it has raised the Affections of my Heart, and quickned my Graces of Zeal and Gratitude; and I observe, that I always return from paying this publick Duty of Prayer and Praise to GOD, with an inexpressible Tranquility of Mind, and a Willingness to leave the World."

NOT long before his Death he caused to be drawn a Figure of Christ extended upon an Anchor, like those which Painters draw when they would present



present us with the Picture of Christ crucified: His, varying no otherwise than to affix him to an Anchor, the Emblem of Hope, this he caused to be drawn in little, and then many of those Figures thus drawn to be engraven very small, and set in Gold, and of these he sent to many of his dearest Friends to be used as Seals, or Rings, and kept as Memorials of him, and of his Affection to them.

THE latter Part of his Life was a continued Study; as he usually preached once a Week, if not oftner, so after his Sermon he never gave his Eyes rest, till he had chosen a new Text, and that Night cast his Sermon into a Form, and his Text into Divisions; and the next Day betook himself to consult the Fathers, and so commit his Meditations to his Memory, only upon *Saturday* he usually gave himself Rest from the weary Burthen of his Week's Meditations, and usually spent that Day in Visitation of Friends, saying, "He gave both his Body and Mind that Refreshment, that he might be enabled to do the Work of the Day following, not faintly, but with Courage and Chearfulness."

NOR was his Age only so industrious, but in the most unsettled Days of his Youth, his Bed was not able to detain him beyond Four in a Morning: This may gain a Belief by the visible Fruits of his Labours, some of which remain as Testimonies of it; for he left fourteen hundred Authors, most of them abridged and analysed with his own Hand.

NOR were these only found in his Study; but all Businesses that past of any publick Consequences, either in this, or any of our Neighbour Nations, he abbreviated either in *Latin*, or in the Language of that Nation, and kept them by him for useful Memorials. So he did the Copies of divers Letters

and Cases of Conscience that had concerned his Friends, with his Observations and Solutions of them; and divers other Businessses of Importance, all particularly, and methodically digested.

THE following is the Beginning and End of his Will.

“ IN the Name of the blessed and glorious Trinity, *Amen*. I *John Donne*, by the Mercy of *Christ Jesus*, and by the Calling of the Church of *England*, Priest, being at this Time in good Health and perfect Understanding, praised be GOD therefore, do hereby make my last Will and Testament, in Manner and Form following:

“ FIRST, I give my gracious GOD an entire Sacrifice of Body and Soul, with my most humble Thanks for that Assurance which his blessed Spirit imprints in me now of the Salvation of the one, and the Resurrection of the other; and for that constant and chearful Resolution which the same Spirit hath established in me to live and die in the Religion now professed in the Church of *England*. In Expectation of that Resurrection, I desire that my Body may be buried in the most private Manner that may be, in that Place of *St. Paul's Church, London*, that the now Residentiaries have at my Request designed for that Purpose, &c.

“ AND this my last Will and Testament, made in the Fear of GOD, whose Mercy I humbly beg, and constantly rely upon in *Jesus Christ*, and in perfect Love and Charity with all the World, whose Pardon I ask, from the lowest of  
“ my

“ my Servants, to the higheſt of my Superiors;  
 “ written all with my own Hand, and my Name  
 “ ſubſcribed to every Page, of which there are  
 “ five in Number.

“ Sealed *December 13, 1630.*”

NOR was his Charity expreſſed only at his Death, but in his Life alſo, by a chearful and frequent Viſitation of any Friend whoſe Mind was dejected, or his Fortune neceſſitous; he was inquisitive after the Wants of Priſoners, and redeemed many from thence that lay for their Fees or ſmall Debts; he was a continual Giver to poor Scholars, both of this and foreign Nations. Beſides what he gave with his own Hand, he uſually ſent a Servant, or a diſcreet and truſty Friend, to diſtribute his Charity to all the Priſons in *London*, at all the Feſtival Times of the Year, eſpecially at the Birth and Reſurrection of our *Saviour*. He gave an hundred Pounds at one Time to an old Friend, whom he had known live plentifully, though then decayed in his Eſtate.

HE was an happy Reconciler of many Differences in the Families of his Friends and Kindred, which he never undertook faintly; for ſuch Undertakings have uſually faint Effects; and they had ſuch a Faith in his Judgment and Impartiality, that he never adviſed them to any Thing in vain. He was even to her Death a moſt dutiful Son to his Mother, careful to provide for her Support, of which ſhe had been deſtitute, but that GOD raiſed him up to prevent her Neceſſities.

WE left the Dr. ſick in *Effex*, where he was forced to ſpend much of that Winter, by reaſon

of his Disability to remove: And having never for almost twenty Years omitted his Attendance on his Majesty in that Month in which he was to preach to him; nor having ever been left out of the Roll and Number of Lent-Preachers.

HE was appointed to preach upon his old constant Day, the first *Friday* in Lent. He had Notice of it, and had in his Sickness so prepared for that Employment, that as he had long thirsted for it, so he resolved his Weakness should not hinder his Journey; he came therefore to *London*, some few Days before his Day of preaching. At his coming thither, many of his Friends (who with Sorrow saw his Sickness had left him only so much *Flesh* as did just cover his Bones) doubted his Strength to perform the Task, and did therefore dissuade him from undertaking it, assuring him, it was like to shorten his Life; but he passionately denied their Requests, saying, "He could not think that God who in so many Weaknesses had assisted him with an unexpected Strength, would now withdraw it in his last Employment." And, when to the Amazement of some Beholders he appeared in the Pulpit, many of them thought he presented himself not to preach Mortification by a living Voice; but, Mortality by a dying Face: And doubtless, many did secretly ask that Question in *Ezekiel*; *Do these Bones live? Or, can that Soul organize that Tongue, to measure out an Hour of this dying Man's unspent Life?* Doubtless it cannot; and yet, after some faint Pauses in his zealous Prayer, his strong Desires enabled his weak Body to discharge his Memory; the Text being, *To God the LORD belong the Issues from Death.* Many that then saw his Tears, and heard his faint and hollow Voice, professing they thought the Text prophetically



cally chosen, and that Dr. *Donne* had preached his own funeral Sermon.

BEING full of Joy that God had enabled him to perform this Duty, he hastened to his House, out of which he never moved, till like St. *Stephen*, he was carried by devout Men to his Grave.

THE next Day after his Sermon, his Strength was much wasted, and his Spirits so spent, as indisposed him to Business. A Friend that had often been a Witness of his free Discourse, asked him, 'Why are you sad?' To whom he replied, with a Countenance so full of cheerful Gravity, as gave Testimony of an inward Tranquility, and of a Soul willing to take a Farewell of this World. And said,

"I am not sad, but most of the Night past I have entertained myself with many Thoughts of several Friends that have left me here, and are gone to that Place from which they shall not return: And, that within a few Days I also shall go hence, and be no more seen. And my Preparation for this Change is become my nightly Meditation upon my Bed, which my Infirmities have now made restless to me. But at this present Time, I was in a serious Contemplation of the Providence and Goodness of God to me, who am less than the least of his Mercies; and looking back upon my Life past, I now plainly see it was his Hand that prevented me from all Temporal Employment; and it was his Will that I should never settle nor thrive till I entered into the Ministry; in which, I have now lived almost twenty Years, I hope to his Glory, and by which I most humbly thank him, I have been able to requite most of those Friends which shewed me Kindness when my Fortune was  
very

very low, as GOD knows it was: And as it hath occasioned the Expression of my Gratitude, I thank GOD most of them have stood in need of my Requital. I have lived to be useful to my good Father-in-law Sir *George Moore*, whose Patience GOD hath been pleased to exercise with many temporal Crosses. I have maintained my Mother, whom it hath pleased GOD after a plentiful Fortune to bring to a great Decay. I have quieted the Consciences of many that have groaned under the Burthen of a wounded Spirit, whose Prayers, I hope, are available for me. I cannot plead innocency of Life, especially of my Youth: But, I am to be judged by a merciful GOD. And though of myself I have nothing to present to him but Sins and Misery; yet, I know he looks not upon me as I am of myself, but as I am in my *Saviour*; and hath given me even at this Time the Testimony by his holy Spirit, that I am his: I am therefore full of Joy, and shall die in Peace."

By the Persuasion of Dr. *Fox*, he yielded at this very Time to have a Monument made for him.

THIS being resolved, Dr. *Donne* sent for a Carver to make for him in Wood the Figure of an Urn, giving him Directions for the Compass and Height of it; and, to bring with it a Board of the height of his Body. These being got, then without Delay a choice Painter was in a readiness to draw his Picture, which was taken as followeth; He brought into his Study his Winding-sheet in his Hand; and having put off all his Cloaths, had this Sheet put on him, and tied with Knots at his Head and Feet, and his Hands so placed as dead Bodies are usually fitted to be put into the Grave. Upon this Urn he thus stood with his Eyes shut, and with

so much of the Sheet turned aside, as might shew his lean, pale, and death-like Face; which was purposely turned towards the *East*, from whence he expected the second Coming of his and our *Saviour*. Thus he was drawn at his just Height; and when the Picture was finished, he caused it to be set by his Bed-side, where it continued, and became his hourly Object till his Death: And was then given to his dearest Friend and Executor Dr. King, who caused him to be thus carved in one entire Piece of white Marble, as it now stands in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul's*; and by Dr. *Donne's* own Appointment, these Words were to be affixed to it as his Epitaph:

# JOHANNES DONNE

*Sac. Theol. Professor.*

*Post varia Studia quibus ab annis tenerrimis fideliter,  
nec infeliciter incubuit;*

*Instinctu & impulsu Sp. Sancti, Monitu  
& Hortatu*

REGIS JACOBI, Ordines Sacros amplexus

*Anno sui Jesu, 1614, & suæ ætatis 42.*

*Decanatu hujus Ecclesiæ indutus 27. Novembris  
1621.*

*Exutus morte ultimo Die Marti, 1631.*

*Hic licet in Occiduo Cinere Aspicit Eum*

*Cujus nomen est Oriens.*

UPON *Monday* following, he took his last Leave of his beloved Study; and, being sensible of his hourly

hourly Decay, retired to his Bed-Chamber; and, that Week, sent at several Times for many of his Friends, of whom he took a solemn Farewell; commending to their Considerations some Sentences useful for the Regulation of their Lives, and then dismissed them, as good *Jacob* did his Sons, with a spiritual Benediction. The *Sunday* following he appointed his Servants, that if there were any Business undone that concerned him or themselves, it should be prepared against *Saturday* next; for, after that Day, he would not mix his Thoughts with any Thing that concerned this World; nor ever did: But, as *Job*, so he waited for the appointed Time of his Dissolution.

AND now he had nothing to do but to die; to do which, he stood in need of no longer Time, for he had studied long, and to so happy a Perfection, that in a former Sickness he called GOD to witness he was that Minute ready to deliver his Soul into his Hands. In that Sickness he beg'd of GOD to be preserv'd in that Estate for ever; and his patient Expectation to have his immortal Soul disrob'd from her Garment of Mortality, makes me confident he now had an Assurance that his Prayers were heard, and his Petition granted. He lay fifteen Days earnestly expecting his hourly Change; and, in the last Hour of his last Day, as his Body melted away, his Soul having, I verily believe, some Revelation of the Beatific Vision, he said, "I were miserable if I might not die"; and after those Words closed many Periods of his faint Breath, by saying often, *Thy Kingdom come, Thy Will be done*. His Speech, which had long been his ready and faithful Servant, left him not 'till the last Minute of his Life, and then forsook him, for that it was become useless to him that now conversed with GOD on Earth, as Angels are said

to



to do in Heaven, only by Thoughts and Looks. Being Speechless, he did as St. Stephen, look steadfastly towards Heaven, 'till he saw the Son of God standing at the Right Hand of his Father: And being satisfied with this blessed Sight, as his Soul ascended, and his last Breath departed from him, he closed his own Eyes; and then, disposed his Hands and Body into such a Posture as required not the least Alteration by those that came to shroud him.

THUS variable, thus virtuous, was the Life, thus excellent, thus exemplary, was the Death of this memorable Man.

HE was buried in that Place of St. Paul's Church, which he had appointed some Years before his Death, and by which he passed daily to pay his publick Devotions to Almighty God; But he was not buried privately, though he desired it; for, besides an unnumbred Number of others, many Persons of Nobility, and of Eminency for Learning, who loved and honoured him in his Life, shewed it at his Death, by a voluntary and sad Attendance of his Body to the Grave, where nothing was so remarkable as a publick Sorrow.

To which Place of his Burial some mournful Friends repaired, and, as *Alexander the Great* did to the Grave of *Achilles*, so they strewed his with abundance of curious Flowers; which Course they (who were never yet known) continued Morning and Evening for many Days; not ceasing 'till the Stones that were taken up in that Church, to give his Body Admission into the cold Earth (now his Bed of Rest) were again by the Masons so levelled as they had been formerly, and his Place of Burial undistinguishable to common View.

NOR

NOR was this all the Honour done to his reverend Ashes; for, as there are some Persons that will not receive a Reward for that which GOD accounts himself a Debtor; Persons that dare trust GOD with their Charity, without a Witness; so there was by some grateful unknown Friend, that thought Dr. *Donne's* Memory ought to be perpetuated, an hundred Marks sent to his two faithful Friends and Executors, Dr. *King* and Dr. *Montfort*, towards the making of his Monument. It was not for many Years known by whom; but, after the Death of Dr. *Fox*, it was known that it was he that sent it; and he lived to see as lively a Representation of his dead Friend, as Marble can express; a Statue indeed, so like Dr. *Donne*, that (as his Friend Sir *Henry Wotton* hath expressed himself) *it seems to breathe faintly; and Posterity shall look upon it as a Kind of artificial Miracle.*

HE was of Stature moderately tall, of a strait and equally-proportioned Body, to which all his Words and Actions gave an inexpressible Comeliness.

THE melancholy and pleasant Humour were in him so tempered, that each gave Advantage to the other, and made his Company one of the Delights of Mankind.

HIS Fancy was inimitably high, equalled only by his great Wit, both being made useful by a commanding Judgment.

HIS Aspect was chearful, and such as gave a silent Testimony of a clear knowing Soul, and of a Conscience at Peace with itself.

HIS

His melting Eye shew'd that he had a soft Heart,  
full of noble Compassion; of too brave a Soul to  
offer Injuries, and too much a Christian not to  
pardon them in others.

HE did much contemplate (especially after he  
entred into his sacred Calling) the Mercies of Al-  
mighty GOD, the Immortality of the Soul, and  
the Joys of Heaven; and would often say, *Blessed  
be GOD, that He is GOD, divinely like Himself.*

HE was a great Lover of the Offices of Humanity,  
and of so merciful a Spirit, that he never beheld  
the Miseries of Mankind without Pity and Relief.

HE was earnest and unwearied in the Search of  
Knowledge; with which his vigorous Soul is now  
satisfied, and employed in a continual Praise of that  
GOD that first breathed it into his active Body;  
that Body which once was a Temple of the Holy  
Ghost, and is now become a small Quantity of  
Christian Dust:

BUT I shall see it re-animated.

J. W.





THE  
L I F E  
O F  
GEORGE HERBERT.

**M**R. GEORGE HERBERT was born the third Day of *April*, in the Year of our Redemption 1593. The Place of his Birth was near the Town of *Montgomery*, and in that Castle that did then bear the Name of that Town and County; the Castle was then a Place of State and Strength, and had been successively happy in the Family of the *Herberts*, who had long possess'd it, and with it a plentiful Estate, and Hearts as liberal to their poor Neighbours. A Family that hath been bless'd with Men of remarkable Wisdom, and with a Willingness to serve their Country, and indeed, to do Good to all Mankind; for which they were eminent: But alas! this Family did in the late Rebellion suffer extremely in their Estates; and the Heirs of that Estate saw it laid level with the Earth.

He spent much of his Childhood in a sweet Content under the Eye and Care of his prudent Mo-



Mother, and the Tuition of a Chaplain or Tutor to him, and two of his Brothers, in her own Family, for she was then a Widow, where he continued, 'till about the Age of twelve Years; and being at that Time well instructed in the Rules of Grammar, he was not long after commended to the Care of Mr. Ireland, who was then chief Master of *Westminster* School; where the Beauties of his Behaviour and Wit were so eminent and lovely in this his innocent Age, that he seemed to be marked out for Piety. He continued in that School, 'till he came to be perfect in the learned Languages.

ABOUT the Age of Fifteen, being then a King's Scholar, he was elected out of that School for *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, to which Place he was transplanted about the Year 1608. And his prudent Mother well knowing, that he might easily lose or lessen, that Virtue which her Advice and Example had planted in his Mind; did therefore procure Dr. Nevil, Master of that College, to take him into his particular Care, and provide him a Tutor.

As he grew older, so he grew in Learning, and Favour with GOD and Man; insomuch, that in this Morning of Life, GOD still kept his Soul in so holy a Frame, that he may, and ought to be a Pattern of Virtue to all Posterity; and especially to his Brethren of the Clergy.

I NEED not declare that he was a strict Student, because, that he was so, there will be many Testimonies in the future Part of his Life. I shall therefore only tell, that he was made Minor Fellow in the Year 1609, Major Fellow of the College, *March* 15, 1615. Batchelor of Arts in the Year 1611. And that, in that Year, he was also made Master of Arts, being then in the 22d Year of his Age; during all which

Time, all or the greatest Diversion from his Study, was the Practice of Musick, in which he became a great Master; and of which, he would say, "That it did relieve his drooping Spirits, compose his distracted Thoughts, and raised his weary Soul so far above Earth, that it gave him an Earnest of the Joys of Heaven, before he possessed them." From his first Entrance into the College, Dr. Nevil was a Cherisher of his Studies, and such a Lover of his Person, his Behaviour, and the excellent Endowments of his Mind, that he took him often into his Company; and, if during this Time he expressed any Error, it was, that he kept himself too much retired, and at too great a Distance with all his Inferiors.

IN the Year 1619, he was chosen Orator for the University; in which Place he continued eight Years; and managed it with great Reputation.

HE had often designed to leave the University, and decline all Study, which he judged did impair his Health; for he had a Body apt to a Consumption, and to Fevers, and other Infirmities which he judged were increased by his Studies; for he would often say, "He had a Wit, like a Pen-knife in a narrow Sheath, too sharp for his Body:" But his Mother would by no Means allow him to leave the University, or to travel; to which, though he inclined very much, yet he would by no Means satisfy his own Desires at so dear a Rate, as to prove an undutiful Son to so affectionate a Mother; but, did always submit to her Wisdom.

UPON King *James's* Death, he presently betook himself to a Retreat with a Friend in *Kent*, where he lived very privately, and was such a Lover of Solitariness, as was judged much to impair his Health. In this Time of Retirement, he had many

ny Conflicts with himself, whether he should return to Court, or betake himself to the Study of Divinity. These were such Conflicts, as they only can know, that have endured them; at last, GOD inclined him to put on a Resolution to serve at his Altar.

AT his Return to *London*, he acquainted a Court-Friend with his Resolution to enter into Sacred Orders, who persuaded him to alter it, as too mean an Employment, below his Birth, and the excellent Endowments of his Mind. To which he replied, "It hath been formerly judged, that the Domestick Servants of the King of Heaven, should be of the noblest Families on Earth; and, though the Iniquity of the late Times have made Clergymen meanly valued, yet I will labour to make it honourable, by consecrating all my Learning, and all my poor Abilities, to advance the Glory of that GOD that gave them; knowing, that I can never do too much for him that hath done so much for me. And I will labour to be like my Saviour, by making Humility lovely in the Eyes of all Men, and by following the merciful and meek Example of my dear *Jesus*."

WITHIN that Year he was made Deacon, and Prebend of *Lincoln*, July 15, 1626.

ABOUT the Year 1629, and the 34th of his Age, Mr. *Herbert* was seized with a sharp Quotidian Ague, and thought to remove it by the Change of Air; to which End, he went to *Woodford* in *Essex*, but thither more chiefly, to enjoy the Company of his beloved Brother, Sir *Henry Herbert*, and other Friends. In his House he remained about Twelve Months, and there became his own Physician, and cured himself of his Ague, by forbearing Drink,

and eating no Meat, unless it was salted; and by such a constant Diet, he removed his Ague, but with Inconveniencies that were worse; for he brought upon himself a Disposition to Rheums, and other Weaknesses: In the sharpest of his Fits, he would often say, "LORD abate my Affliction, or increase my Patience; but, LORD, I repine not, I am dumb, before Thee, because Thou doest it."

AND now his Care was to recover from his other Disorders, by a Change from *Woodford* into such an Air as was proper: And his Remove was from *Woodford* to *Dantsey* in *Wiltshire*, the Owner of it then was the Lord *Danvers*, Earl of *Danby*, who loved Mr. *Herbert* much, and allowed him such an Apartment in that House, as might best suit his Accommodation and Liking. And, in this Place, by a spare Diet, moderate Exercise, and a chearful Conversation, his Health was apparently improved to a good Degree, of Strength and Chearfulness: And then he declared his Resolution to marry, and to enter into the Sacred Orders of Priesthood.

HE was for his Person of a Stature inclining towards Tallness; his Body was very strait, and so far from being cumbered with too much Flesh, that he was lean to an Extremity. His Aspect was chearful, and Speech and Motion did both declare him to be a Gentleman; and were all so meek and obliging, that both then, and at his Death, he was said to die almost without an Enemy.

THESE, and his other visible Virtues, begot him so much Love from a Gentleman of noble Fortune, Mr. *Charles Danvers*, of *Bainton*, in the County of *Wilts*, Esq; that Mr. *Danvers* often declared a Desire Mr. *Herbert* would marry any of his nine Daughters, but rather his Daughter *Jane*, than any other,



other, because *Jane* was his beloved Daughter: He had often said the same to Mr. *Herbert* himself; and that, if he could like her, and she him, *Jane* should have a double Blessing.

THIS was a fair Preparation for a Marriage, but her Father died before Mr. *Herbert's* Retirement to *Dantsey*; yet some Friends to both Parties, procured their Meeting; at which Time, a mutual Affection entered into both their Hearts; insomuch, that she changed her Name into *Herbert*, the third Day after this first Interview.

AND, the eternal Lover of Mankind, made them happy in each others mutual Affections and Compliance; so happy, that there never was any Opposition betwixt them, unless it were a Contest which should most comply with the other's Desires.

ABOUT three Months after his Marriage, he was presented to the Living of *Bemerton*, in *Wiltshire*, but though he had formerly put on a Resolution for the Clergy; yet, the Apprehension of the last great Account he was to make for the Cure of so many Souls, made him fast and pray, and consider, for no less than a Month: And in this Time he endured, as he would often say, "such spiritual Conflicts, as none can think, but those that have endured them."

IN the Midst of these Conflicts, one of his old and dear Friends, took a Journey to salute him at *Bainton*, where he then was with his Wife's Friends and Relations; whence they two took a Journey to *Wilton*; at which Time, the King, and the whole Court were there, or at *Salisbury*, which is very near to it. At which Time Mr. *Herbert* presented his Thanks to the Earl of *Pembroke*, for his Pre-

Presentation to *Bemerton*, but had not yet resolved to accept of it, and told him the Reason why; but that Night the Earl acquainted Dr. *Laud*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with his Kinsman's Irresolution. And the Bishop the next Day so convinced Mr. *Herbert*, that the Refusal of it was a Sin; that the next Day he went with his Presentation to Dr. *Davenant*, then Bishop of *Salisbury*, who gave him Institution immediately, and he was the same Day, which was *April 26, 1630*, inducted into the more pleasant than healthful Parsonage of *Bemerton*, a Mile from *Salisbury*.

WHEN at his Induction he was shut into *Bemerton* Church, being left there alone to toll the Bell, as the Law requires, he staid so much longer than an ordinary Time, before he returned to his Friends that staid expecting him at the Church-door; that one of them looked in at the Church-window, and saw him prostrate on the Ground before the Altar: At which Time he set some Rules to himself, for the future Conduct of his Life.

THE same Night he said, "I now look back upon my aspiring Thoughts, and think myself more happy than if I had attained what I so ambitiously thirsted for: And I can now behold the Court with an impartial Eye, and see plainly, that it is made up of Fraud, and Titles, and Flattery, and empty, imaginary, painted Pleasures; Pleasures, that are so empty, as not to satisfy when they are enjoyed; but, in GOD and his Service, is a Fulness of all Joy and Pleasure, and no Satiety. And I beseech that GOD, who hath honoured me so much as to call me to serve at his Altar, that, as by his special Grace he hath put into my Heart these good Desires and Resolutions, so he

will

will, by his assisting Grace, enable me to bring the same to good Effect; and, that my humble and charitable Life, may so win upon others, as to bring Glory to my *Jesus*, whom I have this Day taken to be my Master and Governor. And I am so proud of his Service, that I will always observe and obey his Will, and call Him *Jesus* my Master: And I will condemn my Birth, or any Title or Dignity that can be conferred upon me, when I shall compare them with serving at the Altar of *Jesus* my Master."

THE third Day after he was made Rector of *Bemerton*, he returned to *Bainton*: And said to his Wife, "You are now a Minister's Wife, and must not now claim Precedence of any of your Parishoners; for you are to know, that a Priest's Wife can challenge no Precedence or Place, but that which she purchases by her Humility." She assured him it was no vexing News to her, and that he would see her observe it with a chearful Willingness. And indeed her unforced Humility, made her so happy as to do so; and her doing so, begot her an unfeigned Love and Respect from all that conversed with her.

It was not many Days before he returned to *Bemerton*, to view the Church, and repair the Chancel; and indeed, to rebuild three Parts of his House, which was fallen down, by reason of his Predecessor's Neglect. At which Time there came to him a poor old Woman, with an Intent to acquaint him with her Troubles; but after she had spoke some few Words, she was surprized with a Fear, and Shortness of Breath, so that her Spirits and Speech failed her; which he perceiving, took her by the Hand, made her sit down by him; and understanding she was of his Parish, told her,  
he

he would be acquainted with her, and take her into his Care: And having heard and understood her Wants, he comforted, relieved her, and sent her home with a chearful Heart, praising God.

THAT he might the better preserve those holy Rules which he had set himself, he set them in that Order, as the World now sees them printed in a little Book, called, *The Country Parson*.

AND his Behaviour toward GOD and Man, may be said to be a practical Comment on the holy Rules set down in that useful Book. A Book so full of plain, prudent and useful Rules, that, that Country Parson, that can spare 12 *d.* and yet wants it, is scarce excusable; because it will both direct him what he is to do, and convince him for not having done it.

THE Text for his first Sermon, was (out of *Solomon's Proverbs*) *Keep thy Heart with all Diligence*. In which he gave his Parishoners many necessary, holy, safe Rules, for the Discharge of a good Conscience, both to GOD and Man. At the Close, he told them, "That he would not fill their Heads with unnecessary Notions; but, for their Sakes, his Expression should be more plain and practical in his future Sermons." And he then made it his humble Request, "That they would be constant to the Afternoon's Service, and Catechising: And his obliging Example and Persuasions, brought them to a willing Conformity to his Desires."

THE Texts for all his Sermons, were constantly taken out of the Gospel for the Day; and he did as constantly declare why the Church did appoint that Portion of Scripture to be that Day read: And in what Manner the Collect for every

Sunday



*Sunday* does refer to the Gospel, or to the Epistle then read to them; and that they might pray with Understanding, he usually took Occasion to explain, not only the Collect for every particular Day, but the Reasons of all the other Collects and Responses in our Service; and made it appear to them, that the whole Service of the Church was a reasonable Sacrifice.

It was also his Practice to appear constantly with his Wife and three Neices (the Daughters of a deceased Sister) and his whole Family, twice a Day at the Church-prayers, in the Chapel, which does almost join to his Parsonage-house, at the Hours of Ten and Four; and there, to lift up pure and charitable Hands to GOD in the Midst of the Congregation. And he would joy to have spent that Time in that Place, where the Honour of his Master *Jesus* dwelleth; and there, by that inward Devotion which he testified constantly by an humble Behaviour, and visible Adoration, he, like *David*, brought not only *his own Household* thus to serve the LORD; but most of his Parishoners, and many Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, constantly to make a Part of his Congregation twice a Day: And some of the meaner Sort of his Parish did so love and reverence Mr. *Herbert*, that they would let their Plow rest when Mr. *Herbert's* Saints Bell rung to Prayers, that they might also offer their Devotions to GOD with him, and would then return to their Plow.

His constant publick Prayers did never make him neglect his own private Devotions, nor those Prayers that he thought himself bound to perform with his Family; which he always concluded with that Collect the Church hath appointed for the Day or Week.—Thus he made every Day's Sanctity a  
Step

Step towards that Kingdom where Impurity cannot enter.

His Recreation was Musick, in which he was an excellent Master, and composed many Anthems, which he set or sung to his Lute or Viol: And, though he was a Lover of Retiredness, yet he went usually twice a Week, to the Cathedral Church in *Salisbury*; and at his Return would say, That his Time spent in Prayer, and Cathedral Musick, elevated his Soul, and was his Heaven upon Earth: But before his Return thence to *Bemerton*, he would usually sing and play his Part, at an appointed private Musick Meeting.

IN one of his Walks to *Salisbury*, he overtook a Gentleman that is still living in that City; and, in their Walk together, Mr. *Herbert* took a fair Occasion to talk with him; and humbly begged to be excused, if he asked him some Account of his Faith.

HAVING received his Answer, he gave him such Rules for practical Piety, and in so loving and meek a Manner, that the Gentleman would often contrive to meet him in his Walk to *Salisbury*, or to attend him back to *Bemerton*; and still mentions the Name of Mr. *George Herbert* with Veneration, and praises GOD that he knew him.

IN another of his *Salisbury* Walks, he met with a Neighbour Minister, and after some friendly Discourse betwixt them, and some Condolence for the Wickedness of the Times, and Contempt of Clergy, Mr. *Herbert* took Occasion to say,

“ONE

“One Cure for these Distempers, would be for the Clergy themselves to keep the *Ember-Weeks* strictly, and to beg of their Parishoners to join with them in Fasting and Prayer, for a more Religious Clergy.”

AND another Cure would be, “For them to restore the great and neglected Duty of *Catechising*, on which the Salvation of so many of the poor and ignorant Lay-People does depend ; but principally, that the Clergy themselves would be sure to live unblameably ; and that the dignified Clergy especially, which preach Temperance, would avoid Surfeiting, and take all Occasions to express a visible Humility, and Charity in their Lives and Actions. ‘Till this be done by us, and done in Earnest, let no Man expect a Reformation of the Manners of the Laity ; for it is not Learning, but this, this only, that must do it ; and ‘till then, the Fault must lie at our Doors.”

IN another Walk to *Salisbury*, he saw a poor Man, with a poorer Horse, that was fallen under his Load ; which Mr. *Herbert* perceiving, put off his canonical Coat, and help’d the poor Man to unload, and after to load his Horse : The poor Man bless’d him for it, and he bless’d the poor Man, and gave him Money to refresh both himself and his Horse ; and told him, “If he lov’d himself, he should be merciful to his Beast.” At his coming to his musical Friends at *Salisbury*, they began to wonder that Mr. *George Herbert*, which used to be so clean, came in such a Condition ; but he told them the Occasion : And when one of the Company told him, “He had disparag’d himself by so dirty an Employment.” His Answer was, “That the Thought on what he had done, would prove Musick to him at Midnight ;

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night; and the Omission of it, would have upbraided and made Discord in his Conscience, whensoever he should pass by the Place."

AND he was most happy in his Wife's unforc'd Compliance with his Acts of Charity, whom he made his Almoner, and paid constantly into her Hand, a Tenth Penny of what Money he receiv'd for Tythe; and gave her a Power to dispose of that to the Poor of his Parish, and a tenth Part of the Corn that came yearly into his Barn; which Trust she did most faithfully perform, and would often offer to him *an Account of her Stewardship*, and as often beg an Enlargement of his Bounty, for she rejoic'd in the Employment; and this was usually laid out by her in Blankets and Shoes, for some such poor People as she knew to stand in Need of them. This, as to her Charity; and for his own, he sets no Limits to it; nor did ever turn his Face from any that he saw in Want, but would relieve them, especially his poor Neighbours, to the meanest of whose Houses, he would go and inform himself of their Wants, and relieve them, and would always praise God, as much for being willing, as for being able to do it. And when he was advis'd by a Friend to be more frugal, because he might have Children, his Answer was, "Seeing all my Tythes and Church-Dues, are a Gift from Thee, O my God; make me, O my God, so far to trust thy Promise, as to return them back to Thee; and, by Thy Grace, I will do so, in distributing them to any of thy poor Members that are in Distress."

THUS he continued, 'till a Consumption so weakned him, as to confine him to his House, or to the Chapel; in which, he continued to read Prayers constantly twice every Day, though he



was very weak : In one of which Times of his Reading, his Wife observ'd him to read in Pain, and told him so, and that it wasted his Spirits ; he confess'd it, but said, " His Life could not be better spent, than in the Service of his Master, *Jesus*, who had done and suffered so much for him : But, he said, I will not be wilful, for Mr. *Bosstock* shall read Prayers for me To-morrow, and I will now be only a Hearer of them, 'till this Mortal shall put on Immortality." And Mr. *Bosstock* did continue this happy Employment, 'till Mr. *Herbert's* Death.—This Mr. *Bosstock* was a learned and virtuous Man, an old Friend of Mr. *Herbert's*, and then his Curate to the Church of *Fulston*, a Mile from *Bemerton*, to which *Bemerton* is but a Chapel of Ease.

ABOUT a Month before his Death, his Friend Mr. *Farrer*, sent Mr. *Edmund Duncon* from his House of *Gidden-Hall*, which is near *Huntington*, to see Mr. *Herbert*, and to assure him, he wanted not his daily Prayers for his Recovery ; and Mr. *Duncon* was to return back to *Gidden*, with an Account of Mr. *Herbert's* Condition. He found him lying on his Bed ; but on seeing Mr. *Duncon*, he rais'd himself vigorously, saluted him, and with some Earnestness enquir'd the Health of his Brother, *Farrer*, of which Mr. *Duncon* satisfied him ; and after a Conference of Mr. *Farrer's* holy Life, and the Manner of his constant serving GOD, he said to Mr. *Duncon*, " Sir, I see by your Habit that you are a Priest, and I desire you to pray with me ;" which being granted, Mr. *Duncon* ask'd him what Prayers ? To which Mr. *Herbert's* Answer was, " O Sir, the Prayers of my Mother, the Church of *England*, no other Prayers are equal to them." Mr. *Duncon* did so. Mr. *Duncon* tells me, that at his first View of Mr. *Herbert*, he saw

Majesty and Humility so reconciled in his Looks and Behaviour, as begot in him an awful Reverence for his Person, and that his Discourse was so pious, and his Motion so meek, that after almost forty Years, they remain still fresh in his Memory.

THE next Morning, Mr. *Duncon* left him, and betook himself to a Journey to *Bath*, but with a Promise to return back.

MR. *Nicholas Farrer*, was born in *London*, and was at a fit Age made Fellow of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge*, where he continued to be eminent for his Temperance and Learning. About the 26th Year of his Age, he betook himself to Travel, in which he added to his *Latin* and *Greek*, a perfect Knowledge of all the Languages spoken in the Western Parts of our Christian World, and understood well the Principles of their Religion, and the Manner and the Reasons of their Worship. In this his Travel, he met with many Persuasions to come into a Communion with that Church, which calls itself Catholick; but he return'd from his Travels as he went, eminent for his Obedience to his Mother, the Church of *England*. In his Absence from *England*, Mr. *Farrer's* Father (who was a Merchant) allow'd him a liberal Maintenance; and not long after his Return, he had an Estate left him, that enabled him to buy Land to the Value of 500 *l.* a Year, the greatest Part of which Land was at *Little Gidden*, four or six Miles from *Huntington*, and about 18 Miles from *Cambridge*, which Place he chose for the Privacy of it, and the Hall which had the Parish-Church adjoining to it; for Mr. *Farrer* having seen the Manners and Vanities of the World, did so condemn it, that he resolv'd

to spend the Remainder of his Life in Mortification, Devotion, and Charity, and to be always prepar'd for Death.—And his Life was spent thus ;

HE and his Family, which were like a little College, and about thirty in Number, did most of them keep *Lent*, and all *Ember-Weeks* strictly, both in Fasting, and using all those Prayers that the Church hath appointed to be then used ; and he and they, did the like on *Fridays*, and on the Vigils or Eves before the Saint's-Days ; and this Frugality and Abstinence, turn'd to the Relief of the Poor ; but this was but a Part of his Charity, none but GOD and he knew the rest.

THIS Family were a Part of them his Kindred, and the rest chosen of a Temper fit for a devout Life ; and all of them were for their Dispositions serviceable, quiet and humble, and free from Scandal. Having thus fitted himself for his Family, he did about the Year 1630, betake himself to a constant and methodical Service of GOD, and it was in this Manner.—He did himself use to read the Common-Prayers (for he was a Deacon) every Day at the appointed Hours of Ten and Four, in the Church which was very near his House, and which he had both repair'd and adorn'd ; for it was fallen into Ruin, before Mr. *Farrer* bought the Manor. And he constantly read the *Mattins* every Morning at Six, either in the Church, or in an Oratory, which was within his own House : And many of the Family did there continue with him after the Prayers were ended, and there they spent some Hours in singing Hymns and Anthems, sometimes in the Church, and often to an Organ in the Oratory. And they sometimes betook themselves

to meditate, or to pray privately, or to read a Part of the New Testament, or to continue their Praying or Reading the Psalms; and in Case the Psalms were not all read in the Day, then Mr. *Farrer*, and others of the Congregation, did at Night, at the Ring of a Watch-Bell, repair to the Church or Oratory, and there betake themselves to Prayer, and lauding GOD, and reading the Psalms that had not been read in the Day: And when these, or any Part of the Congregation grew weary or faint, the Watch-Bell was rung, sometimes before, and sometimes after Midnight; and then a Part of the Family rose and maintain'd the Watch, sometimes by praying, or singing Lauds to GOD, or reading the Psalms; and when after some Hours they also grew weary or faint, then they rung the Watch-Bell, and were reliev'd by some of the former, or by a new Part of the Society, which continued their Devotions (as hath been mentioned) until Morning.—And it is to be noted, that in this continued serving of GOD, the Psalter, or whole Book of Psalms, was in every Four and Twenty Hours, sung or read over, from the first to the last Verse, and this done as constantly as the Sun runs his Circle every Day about the World.

THUS did Mr. *Farrer* and his happy Family, serve GOD, Day and Night. Thus did they always behave, as in his Presence. And they always eat and drank by the strictest Rules of Temperance; as to be ready to rise at Midnight, or at the Call of a Bell, and perform their Devotions to GOD.—And many of the Clergy did often come to *Gidden-Hall*, and make themselves a Part of that happy Society, and stay a Week or more, and join with Mr. *Farrer*, and the Family in these Devotions, and assist him or them  
in



in their Watch by Night ; and these various Devotions, had never less than two of the Domestic Family in the Night ; and the Watch was always kept in the Church or Oratory, unless in extreme cold Nights, and then it was maintained in a Parlour fitted for that Purpose ; and this Course of Piety, and great Liberality to his Neighbours, Mr. *Farrer* maintained 'till his Death, which was in the Year 1639.

MR. *Farrer's* and Mr. *Herbert's* Lives were so noted, that the general Report of their Sanctity, gave them Occasion to renew that slight Acquaintance which was begun at *Cambridge* ; and, this new holy Friendship was maintained without any Interview, but only by endearing Letters. One Testimony of their Friendship, and pious Designs, may appear by Mr. *Farrer's* commending the Considerations of *John Valdesso* (a Book which he had met with in his Travels, and translated out of *Spanish* into *English*) to be examined by Mr. *Herbert* ; which Book, Mr. *Herbert* read, and returned back with marginal Notes.

THIS *John Valdesso* was a *Spaniard*, and was for his Learning and Virtue, much valued and loved by the great Emperor *Charles V.* whom *Valdesso* had followed all the Time of his long and dangerous Wars. When *Valdesso* grew old, and weary of the World, he took his fair Opportunity to declare to the Emperor, that his Resolution was to decline his Majesty's Service, and betake himself to a quiet and contemplative Life, because there ought to be a vacancy of Time betwixt fighting and dying.—The Emperor had himself, for the same Reasons,  
put

put on the same Resolutions ; but GOD and himself did then only know them ; and he desired *Valdesse* to consider well what he had said, but keep his Purpose within his own Breast, 'till they two had another Opportunity of a friendly Discourse.

IN the mean time, the Emperor appoints a Day for him and *Valdesse* to receive the Sacrament publicly, and appointed a devout Friar to preach a Sermon of Contempt of the World, and of the Happiness and Benefit of a quiet Life. After Sermon, the Emperor declared openly, That he had a Resolution to lay down his Dignities, and forsake the World ; and after he had called his Son *Philip* out of *England*, and resigned to him all his Kingdoms, the Emperor performed his Resolutions.

MR. *Duncon*, according to his Promise, returned the fifth Day, and found Mr. *Herbert* much weaker than he left him ; and therefore their Discourse could not be long ; but at parting, Mr. *Herbert* spoke to this Purpose : “ Sir, I pray give my Brother *Farrer* an Account of my decaying Condition, and tell him, I beg him to continue his Prayers for me ; and let him know, that I have considered, That GOD only is what He would be ; and, that I am by his Grace become now so like Him, as to be pleased with what pleaseth him ; and tell Him, my Heart is fixed on that Place where true Joy is only to be found ; and that I long to be there, and will wait my appointed Change with Hope and Patience.”

AND having said this, he added, “ Sir, pray deliver this little Book to my Brother *Farrer*, and tell him, he shall find in it a Picture of the many spiritual Conflicts that have past betwixt GOD and my

my Soul, before I could subject mine to the Will of *Jesus* my Master, in whose Service I have now found perfect Freedom; desire him to read it, and then if he can think it may turn to the Advantage of any dejected poor Soul, let it be made publick; if not, let him burn it, for I and it, are less than the least of GOD's Mercies."—Thus meanly did this humble Man think of this excellent Book, which now bears the Name of the *Temple*: Or, *Sacred Poems, and Private Ejaculations*; of which, Mr. *Farrer* would say, "There was the Picture of a Divine Soul in every Page; and, that the whole Book, was such a Harmony of holy Passions, as would enrich the World with Pleasure and Piety."

AT the Time of Mr. *Duncon's* leaving Mr. *Herbert*, which was about three Weeks before his Death, his old and dear Friend Mr. *Woodnot*, came from *London* to *Bemerton*, and never left him, 'till he had seen him draw his last Breath. In this Time of his Decay, he was often visited, and prayed for by all the Clergy that lived near him, especially by the Bishop and Prebends in *Salisbury*; but by none more devoutly than his Wife, his three Nieces, then a Part of his Family, and Mr. *Woodnot*, who were the sad Witnesses of his daily Decay, to whom he would often speak to this Purpose:

"I now look back upon the Pleasures of my Life past, and see the Content I have taken in Beauty, in Wit, in Musick, and pleasant Conversation, how they are all past by me, as a Shadow that returns not, and are become dead to me, or I to them; that as my Father and Generation hath done before me, so I shall now suddenly, with *Job*, make my Bed also in the Dark; and,  
 I praise

Praise GOD, I am prepared for it; and that I am not to learn Patience, now I stand in such need of it; and that I have practised Mortification, and endeavoured to die daily, that I might not die eternally; and, my Hope is, that I shall shortly leave this Valley of Tears, and be free from all Fevers and Pain; and which will be a more happy Condition, I shall be free from Sin, and all the Temptations and Anxieties that attend it; and this being past, I shall dwell in the new *Jerusalem*, dwell there with Men made perfect; dwell, where these Eyes shall see my Master and Saviour *Jesus*; and, with him, see my dear Mother, and Relations, and Friends: But I must die, or not come to that happy Place. And this is my Content, that I am going daily towards it; and that every Day that I have lived, hath taken a Part of my appointed Time from me; and that I shall live the less Time, for having lived this and the Day past."

THE *Sunday* before his Death, he rose suddenly from his Couch, called for one of his Instruments, took it into Hand, and said,

*My GOD my GOD,  
My Musick shall find Thee;  
And every String  
Shall have his Attribute to sing.*

AND having tuned it, he played and sung:

*The Sundays of Man's Life,  
Threaded together on Time's String,  
Make Bracelets, to adorn the Wife  
Of the eternal glorious King:  
On Sundays, Heaven's Door stands ope;  
Blessings are plentiful and rise,  
More plentiful than Hope.*

THUS



THUS he sung on Earth such Hymns and Anthems, as the Angels and he, and Mr. *Farrer*, now sing in Heaven.

THUS he continued meditating and praying, and rejoicing, 'till the Day of his Death, and on that Day said to Mr. *Woodnot*, " My dear Friend, I am sorry I have nothing to present to my merciful God but Sin and Misery ; but the first is pardoned, and a few Hours will put a Period to the latter." Upon which Expression, Mr. *Woodnot* took Occasion to remember him of his many Acts of Mercy ; to which he made Answer, " They be good Works if they be sprinkled with the Blood of *Christ*, and not otherwise."

AFTER this Discourse, he became more restless, and his Soul seemed to be weary of her earthly Tabernacle ; and this Uneasiness became so visible, that his Wife, his three Neices, and Mr. *Woodnot*, stood constantly about his Bed, beholding him with Sorrow, and an Unwillingness to lose the Sight of him whom they could not hope to see much longer. As they stood thus beholding him, his Wife observed him to breathe faintly, and with much Trouble ; and, observing him to fall into a sudden Agony ; she asked him how he did ? To which his Answer was, " That he had past a Conflict with his last Enemy, and had overcome him, by the Merits of his Master, *Jesus*." After which Answer, he looked up, and saw his Wife and Neices weeping, and charged them, " If they loved him, to withdraw into the next Room, and there pray every one alone for him, for nothing but their Lamentations could make his Death uncomfortable." To which Request, their Sighs and Tears would not suffer them to make any Reply, but they yielded him

him a sad Obedience, leaving only with him Mr. *Woodnot*, and Mr. *Bostock*.

IMMEDIATELY after they had left him, he said to Mr. *Bostock*, "Pray, Sir, open that Door, then look into that Cabinet, in which you may easily find my last Will, and give it into my Hand;" which being done, he delivered it into the Hand of Mr. *Woodnot*, and said, "My old Friend, I here deliver you my last Will, in which you will find that I have made you my sole Executor for the good of my Wife and Neices; and I desire you to shew Kindness to them, as they shall need it; I do not desire you to be just, for I know you will be so for your own Sake; but I charge you, by the Religion of our Friendship, to be careful of them." And having obtained Mr. *Woodnot*'s Promise to be so, he said, "I am now ready to die;" after which Words he said, "LORD, grant me Mercy, for the Merits of my *Jesus*, and now, LORD, receive my Soul." And with those Words breathed forth his Soul, without any apparent Disturbance. Mr. *Woodnot* and Mr. *Bostock* attending his last Breath, and closing his Eyes.

THUS he lived, and thus he died like a Saint, unspotted of the World, full of Alms-Deeds, full of Humility, and all the Examples of a virtuous Life; which I cannot conclude better, than with this borrowed Observation:

— *All must to the cold Grave*  
*But, the Religious Actions of the Just,*  
*Smell sweet in Death, and blossom in the Dust.*



THE  
L I F E  
O F  
Bishop B E D E L L.

**W**ILLIAM BEDELL was born at *Black-Notley* in *Essex*, in the Year 1570. He was the younger Son of an ancient and good Family. He was sent to *Emmanuel-College* in *Cambridge*, and put under Dr. *Chadderton's* Care, the famous Head of that House; and here all those extraordinary Things, that rendered him afterwards so conspicuous, began to shew themselves in such a Manner, that he came to have a very eminent Character both for Learning and Piety: So that Appeals were oft made to him, as Differences or Controversies arose in the University. He was put in Holy Orders by the Bishop Suffragan of *Colchester*.

He was chosen Fellow of the College in 1593, and took his Degree of Batchelor of Divinity in the Year 1599.

FROM the University he was removed to *St. Edmundsbury* in *Suffolk*, where he served long in the Gospel, with great Success; the opening dark Passages, and comparing many Texts of Scripture, together with a serious and practical Application of them, being the chief Subject of his Sermons: He had an Occasion not long after his Settlement in this Charge, to shew how little he either courted Preferment, or was afraid of great Men: For when the Bishop of *Norwich* proposed some Things to his Clergy, with which they were generally dissatisfied, though they had not Resolution enough to oppose them; he took that hard Province upon himself, and did it with so much Strength of Reason, as well as Discretion, that many of those Things were let fall: Upon which when his Brethren magnified him for it, he check'd them and said, 'He desired not the Praises of Men.' His Reputation was so well established both in the University and in *Suffolk*, that when King *James* sent Sir *Henry Wotton* Ambassador to *Venice*, at the Time of the Interdict; he was recommended as the fittest Man to go Chaplain in so critical a Conjunction: Where he was very near being an Instrument of a great and happy Change in that Republick. I need not say much of a Thing so well known as were the Quarrels of Pope *Paul V.* and that Republick; especially since the History of them is written so particularly by him that knew the Matter best, *P. Paulo*. Some Laws made by the Senate, restraining the excessive Donations, extorted from Superstitious Men, and the Imprisoning two lewd Friars, in order to the executing Justice on them, were the Grounds of the Quarrel; and upon those Pretences, the ecclesiastical Immunity from the secular Tribunals was asserted to such a Degree, that after that high spirited Pope had tried what the spiritual Sword could do, but without Success, his Interdict not being observed by any, but the Jesuits,



Jesuites, the Capuchins and Theatines, who were upon that banished the State; he resolved to try the temporal Sword next, according to the Advice that Cardinal *Baronius* gave him; who told him in the Consistory, that there were two Things said to St. *Peter*, the first was, *Feed my Sheep*, the other was, *Arise and kill*; and therefore since he had executed the first Part of St. *Peter's* Duty, in feeding the Flock, by Exhortations, Admonitions, and Censures, without Effect, he had nothing left but to *arise and kill*. Upon this the Pope not finding any other Prince that would execute his Bulls, he resolved to make War upon them himself; but when he saw that his Censures had not created any Distractions in the Republick, and found their Treasure and Force like to prove a Match for the Apostolical Chamber, and to such Forces as he could levy and pay, he was at last willing to accept of a Mediation, in which the Senate, though they were content to deliver up the two profligate Friars, yet asserted their Right, and maintained their Laws, notwithstanding all his Threatnings; nor would they so much as ask Pardon, or crave Absolution. But without going further into Matters so generally known, I shall only mention those Things in which Mr. *Bedell* had some Share.

P. PAULO was then the Divine of the State, a Man equally eminent for vast Learning and Prudence; and was at once one of the greatest Divines, and of the wisest Men of his Age. It must needs raise the Character of *Bedell* much, that an *Italian*, who, besides the Caution that is natural to the Country, and the Prudence that obliged one in his Circumstances to a more than ordinary Distrust of all the World, was tied up by the Strictness of that Government to a very great Reservedness with all People, yet took *Bedell* into his very Soul; and as

Sir *Henry Wotton* assured the late King, he communicated to him the inward Thoughts of his Heart, and professed that he had learnt more from him in all the Parts of Divinity, whether speculative or practical, than from any he had ever conversed with in his whole Life. So great an Intimacy with so extraordinary a Person is enough to raise a Character, were there no more to be added. *P. Paulo* went further, for he assisted him in acquiring the *Italian* Tongue, in which *Bedell* became such a Master, that he spoke as one born in *Italy*, and penned all the Sermons he then preached, either in *Italian* or *Latin*: In this last it will appear by the Productions of his Pen yet remaining, that he had a true *Roman* Stile, inferior to none of the modern Writers, if not equal to the Antients. In Requit of the Instruction he received from *P. Paulo* in the *Italian* Tongue, he drew a Grammar of the *English* Tongue for his Use, and for some others that desired to learn it, that so they might be able to understand our Books of Divinity; and he also translated the *English* Common-prayer Book into *Italian*; and *P. Paulo* and the seven Divines, that during the Interdict were commanded by the Senate both to preach and write against the Pope's Authority, liked it so well, that they resolved to have made it their Pattern, in case the Differences between the Pope and them had produced the Effect which they hoped and longed for.

THE Intimacy between them grew so great and so publick, that when *P. Paulo* was wounded by those Assassines that were set on by the Court of *Rome*; upon the failing of which Attempt a Guard was set on him by the Senate, that knew how to value and preserve so great a Treasure; and much Precaution was used before any were admitted to come to him, *Bedell* was excepted out of those Rules,

Rules, and had free Access to him at all Times. They had many and long Discourses concerning Religion: He found *P. Paulo* had read over the *Greek Testament* with so much Exactness, that having used to mark every Word when he had fully weighed the Importance of it, as he went through it; he had by going often over it, and observing what he past over in a former Reading, grown up to that at last, that every Word was marked of the whole New Testament: And when *Bedell* suggested to him critical Explications of some Passages that he had not understood before, he received them with Transports of one that leapt for Joy, and that valued the Discoveries of divine Truth beyond all other Things.

DURING his Stay at *Venice*, the famous *Ant. de Dominis*, Archbishop of *Spalata*, came to *Venice*; and having received a just Character of Mr. *Bedell*, he discovered his Secret to him, and shewing him his ten Books, *De Republica Ecclesiastica*, which he afterwards printed at *London*. *Bedell* took the Freedom which he allowed him, and corrected many ill Applications of Texts of Scripture, and Quotations of Fathers. For that Prelate being utterly ignorant of the *Greek Tongue*, could not but be guilty of many Mistakes, both in the one and the other; and if there remain some Places still that discover his Ignorance of that Language, yet there had been many more, if *Bedell* had not corrected them. *De Dominis* took all this in good Part from him, and did enter into such Familiarity with him, and found his Assistance so usefull, and indeed so necessary to himself, that he used to say, he could do nothing without him.

A PASSAGE fell out during the Interdict, that made greater Noise than perhaps the Importance of

it could well amount to; but it was suited to the *Italian* Genius.

THERE came a *Jesuit* to *Venice*, *Thomas Maria Caraffa*, who printed a thousand Theses of Philosophy and Divinity, which he dedicated to the Pope with this extravagant Inscription,

PAULO V. VICE-DEO, *Christianæ Reipublicæ Monarchæ invictissimo, & Pontificiæ Omnipotentia conservatori accerrimo.*

To Paul the V. the Vice-God, the most invincible Monarch of the Christian Commonwealth, and the most zealous Asserter of the Papal Omnipotence.

ALL People were amazed at the Impudence of this Title; but when Mr. *Bedell* observed that the numeral Letters of the first Words, *PAULO V. VICE-DEO* being put together, made exactly 666, the Number of the Beast in the *Revelation*, he communicated this to *P. Paulo*, and the Seven Divines, and they carried it to the Duke and the Senate. It was entertained almost as if it had come from Heaven; and it was publicly preached over all their Territories, that here was a certain Evidence that the Pope was Antichrist. And it is like this was promoted by them more, because they found it took with the *Italians*, than they could build much upon it. This flew so over *Italy*, that lest it should take too much among the People, the Pope caused his Emissaries to give it out every where, That Antichrist was now born in *Babylon*, and was descended of the Tribe of *Dan*; and that he was gathering a vast Army, with which he intended to come and destroy Christendom: And therefore all Christian Princes



Princes were exhorted to prepare all their Forces for resisting so great an Invasion. And with this Piece of false News that was given out very confidently, the other Conceit was choaked.

WHEN the Reconciliation with Rome was concluded, *P. Paulo* wish'd he could have left *Venice*, and come over to *England* with *Mr. Bedell*; but he was so much esteemed by the Senate for his great Wisdom, and trusted with their most important Secrets, that he saw it was impossible for him to obtain his *Congè*; and therefore he made a Shift to comply, as far as he could, with the established Way of their Worship; but he had in many Things particular Methods, by which he in a great Measure rather quieted than satisfied his Conscience. In saying of Mass, he passed over many Parts of the Canon, and in particular those Prayers, in which that Sacrifice was offered up to the Honour of Saints: He never prayed to Saints, nor joined in those Parts of the Offices that went against his Conscience; and in private Confessions and Discourses, he took People off from those Abuses, and gave them right Notions of the Purity of the Christian Religion; so he hoped he was sowing Seeds that might be fruitful in another Age: And thus he believ'd he might live innocent in a Church that he thought so defiled. And when one pressed him hard in this Matter, and objected that he still held Communion with an Idolatrous Church, and gave it Credit by adhering outwardly to it, all the Answer he made to this was, That God had not given him the Spirit of *Luther*. He expressed great Tendernefs and Concern for *Bedell*, when he parted with him; and said that both he and many others would have gone over with him, if it had been in their Power: But that he might never be forgot by him, he gave him

him his Picture, with an *Hebrew* Bible without Points, and a little *Hebrew* Psalter, in which he writ some Sentences expressing his Esteem and Friendship for him; and with these he gave him the unvaluable Manuscript of the History of the Council of *Trent*, together with the History of the Interdict and of the Inquisition; the first of these will ever be reckoned the chief Pattern, after which all, that intend to succeed well in History, must copy.

WHEN *Bedell* came over, he brought along with him the Archbishop of *Spalata*, and one *Despotine* a Physician, who could no longer bear with the Corruptions of the *Roman* Worship; and so chose a freer Air. The latter lived near him in *St. Edmondsbury*, and was by his Means introduced into much Practice, which he maintained so well, that he became eminent in his Profession, and continued to his Death to keep up a constant Correspondence with him.

MR. *Bedell* had now finished one of the Scenes of his Life with great Honour. The most considerable Addition he made to his Learning at *Venice*, was in the Improvements of the *Hebrew*, in which he made a great Progress by the Assistance of *R. Leo*: In Exchange of it, he communicated to him, that which was much more valuable, the true Understanding of many Passages in the Old Testament, with which that *Rabbi* expressed himself often to be highly satisfied: And once in a solemn Dispute, he press'd his *Rabbi* with so clear Proofs of *Jesus Christ* being the true *Messias*, that he, and several others of his Brethren, had no other Way to escape, but to say, that their *Rabbins* every where did expound those Prophecies o-  
ther-

therwise, according to the Tradition of their Fathers.

AFTER eight Years Stay, he returned to *England*; and without pretending to Preferment, he went immediately to his Charge at *St. Edmondsbury*, and there went on in his Ministerial Labours. He had a Soul too generous to stoop to those servile Compliances, that are expected by those that have the Distribution of Preferments. He thought that was an Abjection of Spirit that became not a Christian Philosopher, much less a Churchman, who ought to express a Contempt of the World, and a Resignation to Divine Providence. He was content to deserve Preferment, and did not envy others who arrived at it.

BUT though he was forgot at Court, yet Sir *Thomas Fermyn*, who was a Privy Counsellor, and Vice-Chamberlain to King *Charles I.* and a great Patron of Virtue and Piety, took such a Liking to him, that a considerable Living, in his Gift, falling void, he presented him to it in the Year 1615.

WHEN he came to the Bishop of *Norwich* to take out his Title to it, he demanded large Fees for his Institution and Induction: But *Bedell* would give no more than sufficient Gratification for the Writing, Wax, and Parchment; and refused to pay the rest. He look'd on it as Simony in the Bishop to demand more, and contrary to the Command of *Christ*, who said, *Freely ye have received, freely give*: And thought it a Branch of Simony to sell Spiritual Things to spiritual Persons; and since whatsoever was ask'd, that was more than a decent Gratification to the Servant for his Pains, was asked by Reason of the Thing granted, he thought this unbecoming the Gospel, and a Sin both in the

the Giver and in the Taker. He had observed, that nothing was more expressly contrary to all the Primitive Rules.

CHRYSTOSTOME examined a Complaint made against *Autonine*, Bishop of *Ephesus*, for exacting Fees at Ordination. *Autonine* died before the Process was finish'd; but some Bishops, that had paid those Fees, were degraded. Afterwards not only all Ordinations for Money, but the taking Money for any Employment that depended upon the Bishops Gift, was most severely condemn'd by the Council of *Chalcedon*. The Buyer was to lose his Degree, and the Seller was to be in Danger of it: And after that, severe Censures were every where decreed against all Presents that might be made to Bishops, either before or after Ordinations, or upon the Account of Writings, or of Feasts, or any other Expence that was brought in Use to be made upon that Occasion; and even in the Council of *Trent*, it was decreed, That nothing should be taken for Letters dimissory, the Certificates, the Seals, or upon any such like Ground, either by Bishops or their Servants, even tho' it was freely offered.

UPON these Accounts Mr. *Bedell* resolved rather to lose his Presentation to the Parsonage of *Horingheath*, than do that which he thought *Simony*. And he left the Bishop and went Home: But some Days after the Bishop sent for him, and gave him his Titles, without exacting Fees of him; and so he removed to that Place, where he stay'd twelve Years, during which Time he was a great Honour to the Church, as well as a Pattern to Churchmen. His Habit and Way of Living was becoming the Simplicity of his Profession. He was very tender of those that were truly poor, but  
was



was so strict in examining Vagabonds, and so dexterous in discovering counterfeit Passes, and took such Care of punishing those that went abroad with them, that they came no more to him, nor to his Town. In all that Time no Notice was ever taken of him, though he gave a very singular Evidence of his great Capacity: For being provoked by his old Acquaintance, *Wadsworth's* Letters, he writ upon the Points in Controversy with the Church of *Rome*, with so much Learning and Judgment, and in so mild a Strain, that his Book had a good Effect on him, for whom it was intended. This Book was printed, and dedicated to the late King, while Prince of *Wales*, in the Year 1624.

He was well satisfied with that which God laid in his Way, and went on in the Duties of his pastoral Care; and was a great Pattern in *Suffolk*, thereof, in the lower Degree; as he proved afterwards in *Ireland*, in the higher Order. He laboured not as an Hireling that only raised a Revenue out of his Parish, and abandoned his Flock, trusting them to the cheapest Mercenary; nor did he satisfy himself with a slight Performance of his Duty only for Fashion Sake; but watched over his Flock, like one that knew he was to answer to God for those Souls committed to his Charge: So he preached to the Understandings and Consciences of his Parish, and Catechised constantly. And, as the whole Course of his own most exemplary Behaviour was a continued Sermon; so he was very exact in the more private Affairs of his Function, visiting the Sick, and dealing in Secret with his People, to excite or preserve in them a deep Sense of Religion. This he made his Work, and he followed it so close, lived so much at home, and was so little known, that when *Diodati* came  
over

over to *England*, many Years after, he could hear of him from no Person that he met with; though he was acquainted with many of the Clergy.

HE was much amazed to find that so extraordinary a Man, that was so much admired at *Venice*, by so good Judges, was not so much as known in his own Country; and so he was out of all Hope of finding him out, but by a meer Accident he met him on the Streets of *London*, at which there was a great deal of Joy on both Sides. And upon that *Diodati* presented him to *Morton*, the learned and antient Bishop of *Duresme*, and told how great a Value *P. Paulo* set on him; upon which that Bishop treated him in a very particular Manner. It is true, Sir *Henry Wotton* was always his faithful Friend; but his Credit at Court had sunk: For he fell under Necessities, having lived at *Venice* in an Expence above his Appointments. And as necessitous Courtiers must grow to forget all Concerns but their own; so the Favour they are in lessens, when they come to need it too much.

WHILE he was thus neglected at home, his Fame was spread into *Ireland*; and though he was not known either to Bishop *Usher*, or to any of the Fellows of *Trinity-College* in *Dublin*, yet he was chosen by their unanimous Consent, to be the Head of their College, in the Year 1627; and as that worthy Primate of *Ireland*, together with the Fellows of the College, writ to him, inviting him to come and accept of that Mastership, so an Address was also made to the King, praying that he would command him to go over. And that this might be the more successful, Sir *Henry Wotton* was moved to give his Majesty a true Account of him, which he did in the following Letter.

May

May it please your Most Gracious Majesty,

**H**AVING been informed, that certain Persons have, by the good Wishes of the Archbishop of Armagh, been directed hither, with a most humble Petition unto your Majesty, that you will be pleased to make Mr. William Bedell, Governor of your College at Dublin, for the Good of that Society: And I myself being required to render to your Majesty some Testimony of the said William Bedell, who was long my Chaplain at Venice, in the Time of my Employment there; I am bound in all Conscience and Truth to affirm of him, that, I think, hardly a fitter Man could have been propounded to your Majesty in your whole Kingdom, for singular Erudition and Piety, Conformity to the Rites of the Church, and Zeal to advance the Cause of GOD; wherein his Travels abroad were not obscure, in the Time of the Excommunication of the Venetians.

FOR, may it please your Majesty to know, that this is the Man whom Padre Paulo took (I may say) into his very Soul; with whom he did communicate the inwardest Thoughts of his Heart; from whom he professed to have received more Knowledge in all Divinity, both scholastical and positive, than from any in his Days; of which, all the Passages were well known unto the King your Father, of blessed Memory. And so with your Majesty's good Favour, I will end this needless Office: For the general Fame of his Learning, his Life, and Christian Temper, and those religious Labours which himself hath dedicated to your Majesty, better describe him than I am able.

Your Majesty's

Most humble and

Faithful Servant,

*H. Wotton.*

BUT when this Matter was proposed to Mr. Bedell, he expressed so much real Christianity in the Answer, that I will give it in his own Words, in a Letter he writ to one employed to deal with him in this Matter.

SIR,

I Have this Day received both your Letters, dated the 2d of this Month; for Answer whereof, altho' I could have desired so much Respite, as to have conferred with some of my Friends, such as possibly know the Condition of that Place better than I do, and my Insufficiencies better than my Lord Primate; yet since I perceive by both your Letters, the Matter requires a speedy Answer, thus I stand: I am married, and have three Children; therefore if the Place requires a single Man, the Business is at an End. I have no Want, I thank my GOD, of any Thing necessary for this Life: I have a competent Living of above a hundred Pounds a Year, in a good Air, with a very convenient House near my Friends, a little Parish, not exceeding the Compass of my weak Voice.

I HAVE often heard, that changing seldom brings the better; especially to those that are well. And I see well, that my Wife (though resolving, as she ought, to be contented with whatsoever GOD shall appoint) had rather continue with her Friends in her native Country, than put herself to the Hazard of the Seas, and a foreign Land, with many Casualties in Travel, which she perhaps, out of Fear, apprehends more than there is Cause.

ALL these Reasons I have, if I consult with Flesh and Blood, which move me rather to reject this Offer; (yet with all humble and dutiful Thanks to my Lord Primate for his good Opinion of me): On the other Side,



Side, I consider the End, wherefore I came into the World, and the Business of a Subject to our LORD Jesus Christ, of a Minister of the Gospel, of a good Patriot, and of an honest Man. If I may be of any better Use to my Country, to GOD's Church, or of any better Service to our common Master, I must close mine Eyes against all private Respects; and if GOD call me, I must answer, Here I am. For my Part therefore I will not stir one Foot, or lift up my Finger for or against this Motion; but if it proceed from the LORD, that is, if those whom it concerns there, procure those who may command me here, to send me thither, I shall obey, if it were not only to go into Ireland, but into Virginia, yea though I were not only to meet with Troubles, Dangers, and Difficulties, but Death itself in the Performance.

SIR, I have as plainly as I can, shewed you my Mind; desiring you, with my humble Service to represent it to my reverend good Lord, my Lord Pri-  
 mare. And GOD Almighty direct this Affair to the Glory of his holy Name, and have you in his merciful Protection. So I rest

From Bury,  
 March 5, 1626.

Your Loving Friend,

*Will. Bedell.*

THE Conclusion of this Matter was, that the King being well informed concerning him, commanded him to undertake the Charge, which he chearfully obeyed; and set about the Duties incumbent on him, in such a Manner, as shew'd how well he had improved the long Time of Retirement

ment, he had hitherto enjoyed, and how ripely he had digested all his Observations.

HE had hitherto lived as if he had been for nothing but Study; and now when he entered upon a more publick Scene, it appeared that he understood Government and human Life so well, that no Man seemed to be more cut out for Business. In the Government of the College, he resolved to act nothing 'till he both knew the Statues of the House perfectly well, and the Tempers of the People; therefore when he went over first, he carried himself so abstractedly from all Affairs, that he past for a weak Man. The Zeal that appeared afterwards in him, shewed, That this Coldness was only the Effect of his Wisdom, and not of his Temper: But when he found that some grew to think meanly of him, and that even *Usher* himself began to change his Opinion of him; when he went over to *England* some Months after, to bring his Family over to *Ireland*, he was thinking to resign his new Preferment, and return to his Benefice in *Suffolk*; but the Primate wrote so kind a Letter to him, that as it made him lay down those Thoughts; so it drew from him the following Words, in the Answer that he writ to him.

TOUCHING my Return, I thankfully accept your Grace's Exhortation, advising me to have Faith in GOD, and not consult with Flesh and Blood. Now I would to GOD, that your Grace could look into my Heart, and see how little I fear lack of Provision, or any outward Thing in this World: My chief Fear in Truth was, and is, lest I should be unfit and unprofitable in the Place; in which Case, if I might have an honest Retreat, I think no wise Man could blame

me to retain it; especially having understood that your Grace, whose Authority I chiefly followed at the first, did from your own Judgment, and that of other wise Men, so truly pronounce of me, that I was a weak Man. Now that I have received your Letters so full of Encouragement, it puts some more Life in me. For sure it cannot agree with that Goodness of yours, praised among all GOD's Graces in you, by those that know you, to write one Thing to me, and to speak another Thing to others of me; or to go about to beguile my Simplicity with Words, laying in the mean while a Net for my Feet, especially since my Weakness shall in Truth redound to the blaming of your own Discretion in bringing me thither.

THUS was he prevailed on to resign his Benefice, and carry his Family to Ireland; and then he applied himself with that Vigour of Mind, that was peculiar to him, to the Government of the College.

HE corrected such Abuses as he found among them; he set such Rules, and saw these so well executed, that it quickly appeared how happy a Choice they had made: And as he was a great Promoter of Learning, so he thought it his particular Province to instruct the House in the Principles of Religion. In order to this he catechized the Youth in the College once a Week, and preached once a Sunday, though he was not obliged to it: And that he might acquaint them with a plain Body of Divinity, he divided the Church-Catechism into Fifty-two Parts, one for every Sunday, and explained it in a Way so mixed with speculative and practical Matters, that his Sermons were both learned Lectures of Divinity, and excellent Exhortations to Piety.

HE had not staid there above two Years, when, by means of his Friend, Sir Thomas Jermyyn, a Patent was sent him to be Bishop of *Kilmore and Ardagh*.

AND now in the fifty-ninth Year of his Age, he entered upon a different Course of Life and Employment, when it might have been thought, that the Vigour of his Spirits was much broken and spent. But by his Administration of his Diocese, it appeared that there remained yet a vast Force of Spirit to carry him through those difficult Undertakings to which he found himself obliged by this Office; which if it makes a Man but a little lower than the Angels, so that the Term *Angel* is applied to that Office in Scripture, he thought it did oblige him to an angelical Course of Life, and to divide his Time as much as could consist with a Body made of Flesh and Blood, as those glorious Spirits do, between beholding the Face of their Father which is in Heaven, and ministering to the Heirs of Salvation: He considered the Bishop's Office made him the Shepherd of the inferior Shepherds, if not of the whole Diocese; and therefore he resolved to spare himself in nothing, by which he might advance the Interest of Religion among them; and he thought it a disingenuous Thing to vouch Antiquity for the Authority and Dignity of that Function, and not at the same Time to express those Virtues and Practices that made it so venerable of old. Since the Forms of Church-Government must appear amiable and valuable, not so much for the Arguments learned Men use concerning them, as for the real Advantages that arise from them. So that he determined, with the great *Nazianzen*, to give *Wings to his Soul, to rescue it wholly from the World, and to dedicate it to GOD; as one that had got above all sensib*



sible Things, and had attained to a Familiarity with divine Matters, that so his Mind might be as an un-sullied Mirrour, upon which he might receive and represent the Impresses of GOD and divine Things, unallied with the Characters of lower Objects. He saw he should fall under Envy, and meet with great Oppositions, but he considered that as a Sort of Martyrdom for GOD, and resolved cheerfully to undergo whatsoever uneasy Things he might suffer in the Discharge of his Duty.

HE found his Diocese under so many Disorders, that there was scarce a sound Part remaining. The Revenue was wasted by excessive Dilapidations, and all sacred Things had been exposed to Sale in so sordid a Manner, that it was grown to a Proverb.

ONE of his Cathedrals, *Ardagh*, was fallen to the Ground; and there was scarce enough remaining of both these Revenues to support a Bishop that was resolved not to supply himself by indirect and base Methods: He had a very small Clergy, but seven or eight in each Diocese of good Sufficiency; but every one of these was multiplied into many Parishes, they having many Vicarages apiece; besides, being *English*, and his whole Diocese consisting of *Irish*, they were Barbarians to them; nor could they perform any Part of divine Offices among them. But the State of his Clergy will appear best from a Letter that he writ to Archbishop *Laud* concerning it, which I shall here insert.

RIGHT

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER,  
my honourable good Lord,

**SINCE** my coming to this Place, I have not been unmindful of your Lordship's Commands, to advertise you of the State of the Church, which I shall now the better do, because I have been about my Dioceses, and can set down, out of my Knowledge, what I shall relate: And shortly, to speak much ill Matter in a few Words, it is very miserable. The Cathedral Church of Ardagh, together with the Bishop's House, is down to the Ground. The Church here built, but without Bell or Steeple, Font or Chalice. The Parish-Churches all in a manner ruined. The People, saving a few British Planters, which are not the tenth Part of the Remnant, obstinate Recusants. A popish Clergy more numerous by far than we, and in full Exercise of all Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, by their Vicar-General and Officials, who are so confident as to excommunicate those that come to our Courts, even in matrimonial Causes; which Affront hath been offered to myself by the popish Primate's Vicar-General; for which I have begun a Process against him. The Primate himself lives in my Parish, within two Miles of my House, the Bishop in another Part of my Diocese. Every Parish hath its Priest, and some two or three apiece, and so their Mass-Houses also; in some Places Mass is said in the Churches. Friars there are in divers Places, who go about, and by their importunate Begging impoverish the People, who indeed are generally very poor, as from that Cause, so from their paying double Tithes to their own Clergy and ours, from the Dearth of Corn, and the Death of their Cattle these late Years, with the Contributions to their Soldiers and their Agents; and which they forget not to reckon among other Causes, the Oppression of the Court Ecclesiastical, which in very Truth, my Lord, I cannot excuse, and do seek to reform.

form. For our own, there are seven or eight Ministers in each Diocese of good Sufficiency; and (which is no small Cause of the Continuance of the People in Popery still) English, which have not the Tongue of the People, nor can perform any divine Offices, or converse with them; even the Clerkship themselves are in like manner conferred upon the English; and sometimes two or three, or more, upon one Man, and ordinarily bought and sold, or let to farm. His Majesty is now with the greatest Part of this Country, as to their Hearts and Consciences, King, but at the Pope's Discretion.

Kilmore, April 1,  
1630.

WILL. KILMORE and ARDAGH.

HERE was a melancholy Prospect to so good a Mind, enough to have disheartened him quite, if he had not had a proportioned Degree of Courage to support him.

AFTER he had recovered somewhat of the Spoils made by his Predecessor, and put himself into a Capacity to subsist, he went about the reforming of Abuses: The first he undertook was Pluralities, by which one Man had a Care of Souls in so many different Places, that it was not possible to discharge his Duty to them, nor to perform the Vows made at his Ordination, of feeding and instructing the Flock committed to his Care. And though most of the Pluralists did mind all their Parishes alike, that is, neglected all equally; yet he thought this an Abuse contrary both to the Nature of Ecclesiastical Functions, to the Obligations the Care of Souls imported, and to those solemn Vows Churchmen made at the Altar when ordained: And he knew well

well that this Corruption was no sooner observed to have crept into the Christian Church, than it was condemned by the fourth General Council of *Chalcedon*.

HE thought it a vain and an impudent Thing for a Man to pretend, that he answered the Obligation of so sacred a Trust and Vow, by hiring some Curate to perform Offices; since the Obligation was personal, and the Watching over Souls had so many Things involved in it, besides officiating according to the Rubrick, that it drew this severe Reflection from a witty Man, "That when such Betrayers and Abandoners of that Trust which *Christ* purchased with his own Blood, found good and faithful Curates that performed worthily the Obligations of the pastoral Care, the Incumbent should be saved by Proxy, but be damned in Person." Therefore the Bishop gathered a Meeting of his Clergy, and laid before them, both out of Scripture, and Antiquity, the Institution, Nature, and Duties of the Ministerial Employment; and exhorted them to reform that intolerable Abuse, which as it brought a heavy Scandal on the Church, and gave their Adversaries great Advantages; so it must very much endanger both their own Souls, and the Souls of their Flocks: And to let them see that he would not lay a heavy Burden on them, in which he would not bear his own Share, he resolved to part with one of his Bishopricks: For though *Ardagh* was considered as a ruined See, and had long gone as an Accessory to *Kilmore*; yet since they were really two different Sees, he thought he could not decently oblige his Clergy to renounce their Pluralities, unless he set them an Example, and renounced his own; even after he had been at a considerable Charge in recovering the Patrimony of *Ardagh*, and though he was sufficiently able to discharge the Duty



of both Sees, they being contiguous and small; and though the Revenue of both did not exceed a Competency, yet he would not seem to be guilty of that which he so severely condemned in others. And therefore he resigned *Ardagh* to Dr. *Richardson*. The Authority of this Example, and the Efficacy of his Discourse, made such an Impression on his Clergy, that they all renounced their Pluralities.

THIS Concurrence from his Clergy in so sensible a Point, was a great Encouragement to go on in his other Designs. There seemed to be a Finger of God in it, for he had no Authority to compel them; and he had managed the Minds of his Clergy so gently in this Matter, that their Compliance was not extorted, but free. One only was excepted, and he being Dean, exchanged his Deanry with another; for he was ashamed to live in the Diocese where he would not submit to such Terms, after both the Bishop himself and all his Clergy had agreed to them. The Opposition given him by the Dean, his Sense of that Matter, and Carriage in it, will appear from the following Letter, which he writ concerning it to the Primate.

Most Reverend FATHER, my  
Honourable good LORD,

I Cannot easily express what Contentment I received at my late being with your Grace at Termonseckin. There had nothing happened to me, I will not say, since I came into Ireland, but as far as I can call to Remembrance, in my whole Life, which did so much affect me in this Kind, as the Hazard of your good Opinion. For, loving and honouring you in Truth, without any private Interest, and receiving so unlook'd for a Blow from your own Hand, which I expected should have tenderly applied some Remedy to me, being  
smitten

smitten by others, I had not present the Defences of Reason and Grace. And although I knew it to be a Fault in myself, since in the Performance of our Duties, the Judgment of our Master, even alone, ought to suffice us; yet I could not be so much Master of mine Affections as to cast out this Weakness. But blessed be GOD, who at my being with you refreshed my Spirit by your kind renewing and confirming your Love to me; and all humble Thanks to you, that gave me place to make my Defence, and took upon you the Cognisance of my Innocency. And as for mine Accuser, whose Hatred I have incurred only by not giving Way to his covetous Desire of heaping Living upon Living, I am glad, and do give GOD Thanks that this Malignity, which awhile masked itself in the Pretence of Friendship, hath at last discovered itself by publick Opposition. It hath not, and I hope it shall not be in his Power to hurt me; he hath rather shamed himself: And, although his high Heart cannot give his Tongue leave to acknowledge his Folly, his Understanding is not so weak and blind as not to see it. Whom I could be very well content to leave to taste the Fruit of it also, without being further troublesome to your Grace, save that I do not despair, but your Grace's Authority will pull him out of the Snare of Satan, whose Instrument he hath been to cross the Work of GOD.

YOUR Grace's Letters of August 23, were not delivered to me till the 29th. In the mean space what Effect those that accompanied them had with Mr. Dean, you shall perceive by the inclosed which were sent me the 28th, the Evening before our Communion. I answered them the next Morning, as is here annexed. As I was at the LORD's Table, beginning the Service of the Communion before the Sermon, he came in, and after the Sermon was done, those that  
communicated

*communicated not being departed, he stood forth and spake to this Purpose:*

THAT whereas the Book of Common Prayer requires, That before the LORD's Supper, if there be any Variance or Breach of Charity, there should be Reconciliation; this was much more requisite between Ministers: *And because they all knew that there had been some Difference between me and him, he did profess, That he bore me no Malice nor Hatred, and if he had offended me in any Thing, he was sorry. I answered, That he had good Reason to be sorry, considering how he had behaved himself. For my Part I bore him no Malice, and if it were in my Power, would not make so much as his Finger ache. Grieved I had been that he, in whom I knew there were many good Parts, would become an Instrument to oppose the Work of GOD, which I was assured he had called me to. This was all that passed. He offered himself to the LORD's Board, and I gave him the Communion. After Dinner he preach'd out of 1 John iv. 21. And this Commandment have we from him, that he that loveth GOD, love his Brother also. When we came out of the Church, Dr. Sheriden delivered me your Grace's Letters. And thus Mr. Dean thinks he hath healed all, as you may perceive by his next Letters of August 30, only he labours about Kildromfarten. Whereabouts I proposed to have spoken with your Grace at my being with you; but I know not how it came not to my Mind, whether it be that the Soul as well as the Body, after some Travel easily falleth to Rest; or else GOD would have it reserved perhaps to a more seasonable Time.*

IT is now above a Twelvemonth (the Day in many Respects I may well wish may not be reckoned with the Days of the Year) that your Grace, as it were, de-  
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livered to me with your own Hands, Mr. Crian a  
 converted Friar. To whom I offered myself as largely  
 as my Ability would extend to; though I had already  
 at your Grace's Commendation received Mr. Dunster-  
 ville to be in my House, with the Allowance of Twen-  
 ty Pound per Annum. The next Day before my de-  
 parting, Mr. Hilton made a Motion to me, That  
 whereas he had in his Hands sufficient to make the Be-  
 nefice of Kildromfarten void, if I would bestow it  
 upon Mr. Dean he would do so, otherwise it should re-  
 main in statu. I answered with Profession of my  
 Love and good Opinion of Mr. Dean, whereof I  
 shewed the Reasons. I added, I did not know the  
 Place nor the People, but if they were mere Irish, I  
 did not see how Mr. Dean could discharge the Duty  
 of a Minister to them. This Motion was seconded  
 by your Grace: But so as I easily conceived, That be-  
 ing solicited by your old Servant, you could do no less  
 than you did. Mr. Dean after pressed me, that, if  
 without my Concurrence, your Grace would confer that  
 Living upon him, I would not be against it; which I  
 promised, but heard no more of it 'till about April  
 last. In the mean while, the Benefice next unto that  
 which Mr. Dunsterville was already possessed of,  
 falling void, whose former Benefice was unable, he  
 said to maintain him, chiefly he promising Residence,  
 I united it to his former, and dismissed him to go to his  
 Cure; wherein how carelessly he hath behaved, I for-  
 bear to relate. To return to Mr. Dean. About the  
 Middle of April he brought me a Presentation to Kil-  
 dromfarten under the broad Seal. I could do no less  
 but signify it to the Incumbent, who came to me, and  
 maintained his Title, requiring me not to admit.  
 Whereupon I returned the Presentation, indorsing the  
 Reason of my Refusal; and being then occasioned to  
 write to the Lords Justices, I signified what I thought  
 of these Pluralities, in a Time when we are so far  
 over-match'd in Number by the adverse Part. This



pass'd on 'till the Visitation; wherein Mr. Dean shewed himself in his Colours. When the Vicar of Kildromfarten was called, he said, he was Vicar, but would exhibit no Title. After the Curate Mr. Smith, signified to me, That his Stipend was unpaid, and he feared it would be still in the Contention of two Incumbents. Upon these and other Reasons, I sequestred the Profits, which I have heard by a Simonaical Compact betwixt them should be for this Year the former Incumbents. Neither did Mr. Dean write or speak a Word to me hereabout, 'till the Day before the Communion in the inclosed. That very Morning I was certified that he proposed to appeal to your Grace, which made me in Answer to his next to add, Quod facias, fac citius.

HERE I beseech your Grace to give me Leave to speak freely touching this Matter, so much the rather, because it is the only Root of all Mr. Dean's Despite against me. I think that of all the Diseases of the Church in these Times, next to that of the Corruption of our Courts, this of Pluralities is the most deadly and pestilent; especially when those are instituted into Charges Ecclesiastical, who, were they never so willing, yet for Want of the Language of the People, are unable to discharge them. Concerning which very Point, I know your Grace remembers the Propositions of the learned and zealous Bishop of Lincoln before Pope Innocent. I will not add the Confession of our Adversaries themselves in the Council of Trent, nor the Judgment of that good Father, the Author of the History thereof, touching Non-Residency. Let the Thing itself speak. Whence flow the Ignorance of the People, the Neglect of GOD's Worship, and defrauding the Poor of the Remains of dedicate Things, the Ruin of the Mansion-Houses of the Ministers, the Desolation of Churches, the swallowing up of Pa-  
S 2
rishes

fishes by the Farmers of them, but from this Fountain? There may be Cause, no Doubt, why sometimes, in some Place, and to some Man, many Churches may be committed; but now that, there are, besides the titular Primate and Bishop, of Priests in the Diocesses of Kilmore and Ardagh, 66; of Ministers and Curates but 32. In this so great Odds, as the Adversaries have of us in Number (to omit the Advantage of the Language, the Possession of Peoples Hearts, the countenancing of the Nobility and Gentry) is it a Time to commit many Churches to one Man, whom I will not undervalue: But what hath he done in the Parishes already committed to him, for the Instruction of the Irish, that we should commit another unto him? He that cannot perform his Duty to one without a Helper, or to that little Part of it whose Tongue he hath, is he sufficient to do it to three? No; it is the Wages is sought, not the Work. And yet with the Means he hath already, that good Man his Predecessor maintained a Wife and a Family; and cannot he in his solitary Life defray himself? Well, if there can be none found fit to discharge the Duty, let him have the Wages to better his Maintenance. But when your Grace assureth us we shall lack no Men, when there is besides Mr. Crian (whom Dr. Sheriden hath heard preach as a Friar in that very Place; which I account would be more to GOD's Glory, if now he should plant the Truth, which before he endeavoured to root out) Mr. Nugent, who offereth himself in an honest and discreet Letter lately written to me, we have sundry in the College, and two trained up at the Irish Lecture, one whereof hath translated your Grace's Catechism into Irish; besides Mr. Duncan and others; with what Colour can we pass by these, and suffer him to sat himself with the Blood of GOD's People? Pardon me, I beseech your Grace, when I say *We*: I mean not to prescribe any thing to you;

you; myself, I hope, shall never do it. And so long as this is the Cause of Mr. Dean's Wrath against me, whether I suffer by his Pen or his Tongue, I shall rejoice, as suffering for Righteousness Sake. And, sith himself in his last Letter excuses my Intent, I do submit my Actions after GOD, to your Grace's Censure, ready to make him Satisfaction, if in any thing, in Word or Deed, I have wronged him.

SINCE my being with you, here was with me Mr. Brady, bringing with him the Resignation of the Benefice of Mullagh, which I had conferred upon Mr. Dunsterville, and united to his former of Moybolke, he brought with him Letters from my Lord of Cork, and Sir William Parsons, to whom he is allied. But examining him, I found him (besides a very raw Divine) unable to read the Irish, and therefore excused myself to the Lords for admitting him. A few Days after, viz. the 10th of this Month, here was with me Mr. Dunsterville himself, and signified unto me that he had revoked his former Resignation. Thus he plays fast and loose, and most unconscionably neglects his Duty. Omnes quæ sua sunt, quærunt.

Indeed I doubted his Resignation was not good, in as much as he retained still the former Benefice, whereunto this was united. Now I see clearly there was a Compact between him and Mr. Brady, that if the second could not be admitted, he should resume his Benefice again.

ASHAMED I am to be thus tedious. But I hope you will pardon me, sith you required, and I promised, to write often; and having now had Opportunity to convey my Letters, this must serve in stead of many. Concluding with mine and my Wife's humble Service to your Grace and Mrs. Usher, and Thanks for my  
kind

*kind Entertainment, I desire the Blessing of your Prayers, and remain always*

**Your GRACE'S**

Kilmore, Sept. 28,  
1630.

Humble Servant,

*Will. Kilmore & Ardagh.*

THE condemning Pluralities was but half of his Project. The next Part was to oblige his Clergy to reside in their Parishes; but in this he met with a great Difficulty.

KING *James* upon the last Reduction of *Ulster* after *Tyrone's* Rebellion, had ordered *Glebe-Lands* to be assigned to all the Clergy: And they were obliged to build Houses upon them, within a limited Time, but in assigning these *Glebe-Lands*, the Commissioners had taken no Care of the Conveniencies of the Clergy: For in many Places these Lands were not in the Parish, and often they lay not altogether, but were divided in Parcels. So he found his Clergy were in a strait. For if they built Houses upon these *Glebe-Lands*, they would be thereby forced to live out of their Parishes, and it was very inconvenient for them to have their Houses remote from their Lands.

IN order to remedy this, the Bishop having Lands in every Parish assigned him, resolved to make an Exchange with them, for more convenient Portions of equal Value: And that the Exchange might be made upon a just Estimate, so that neither the Bishop nor the inferior Clergy might suffer, he procured a Commission from the Lord Lieutenant, for  
some



some to examine and settle that Matter, which was at last brought to a Conclusion with so universal a Satisfaction to his whole Diocese, that, since the Thing could not be finally determined without a Great Seal from the King, confirming all that was done, there was one sent over in all their Names to obtain it.

THE Lord Lieutenant at this Time was Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, afterwards Earl of *Strafford*. At his first coming over to *Ireland*, he was possessed with Prejudices against the Bishop, upon the Account of a Petition sent up by the County of *Cavan*, to which the Bishop had set his Hand, in which some Complaints were made, and some Regulations were proposed for the Army : Which was thought an insolent Attempt, and a Matter of ill Example. So that *Strafford*, who was severe in his Administration, was highly displeased with him : And when any Commission or Order was brought to him, in which he found his Name, he dashed it out with his own Pen ; and expressed great Indignation against him.

WHEN the Bishop understood this, he was not much moved at it, knowing his own Innocence ; but he took prudent Methods to overcome his Displeasure. He did not go to *Dublin* upon his coming over, as all the other Bishops did, to congratulate his coming to the Government : But he writ a full Account of that Matter to his constant Friend Sir *Thomas Fermyn*, who managed it with so much Zeal, that Letters were sent to the Deputy from the Court, by which he was so much mollified towards the Bishop, that he going to congratulate, was well received, and was ever afterwards treated by him with a very particular Kindness. So this Storm went over, which many thought would have

have ended in Imprisonment, if not in Deprivation.

YET how much soever that Petition was mistaken, he made it appear very plain, that he did not design the putting down the Army: For he saw too evidently the Danger they were in from Popery, to think he could be long safe without it. But a Letter that contains his Vindication from that Aspersion, carries in it likewise such a Representation of the State of the *Papish* Interest then in Ireland, and of their Numbers, their Tempers, and their Principles, that I will set it down. It was written to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Right Honourable, my  
very good LORD,

I HAVE been advertised from an honourable Friend in England, that I am accused to his Majesty to have opposed his Service; and that my Hand with two other Bishops only, was to a Writing touching the Money to be levied on the Papists for Maintenance of the Men of War. Indeed, if I should have had such an Intention, this had been not only to oppose the Service of his Majesty, but to expose with the publick Peace, mine own Neck, to the Skeans of Romish Cut-Throats. I that knew that in this Kingdom of his Majesty's, the Pope hath another Kingdom far greater in Number, and as I have heretofore signified to the Lords Justices and Council, constantly guided and directed by the Order of the new Congregation lately erected at Rome, transmitted by the Means of the Pope's Nuncio's residing at Brussels, that the Pope hath here a Clergy, if I may guess by my own Diocese, double in Number to us, the Heads whereof are by corporal Oath bound to him, to maintain him and his Regalities contra omnem hominem, and to execute his Mandates

*Mandates to the uttermost of their Forces; which accordingly they do, stiling themselves in Print, Ego N. Dei & Apostolicæ Sedis gratia Episcopus Fermien & Ossorien.*

I THAT knew there is in the Kingdom for the moulding of the People to the Pope's Obedience, a Rabble of irregular Regulars, commonly younger Brothers of good Houses, who are grown to that Insolency, as to advance themselves to be Members of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in better Ranks than Priests. I that knew that his Holiness hath erected a new University in Dublin to confront his Majesty's College there, and to breed the Youth of the Kingdom to his Devotion, of which University one Paul Harris stileth himself in Print to be Dean: I that knew and have given Advertisement to the State, that these Regulars dare erect new Friaries in the Country, since the dissolving of these in the City, that they have brought the People to such a sottish Senselesness, as they care not to learn the Commandments as GOD himself spake, and writ them; but they flock in great Numbers to the preaching of new superstitious and detestable Doctrines, such as their own Priests are ashamed of; and at all those they levy Collections, three, four, five, or six Pounds at a Sermon. I that knew that those Regulars and this Clergy have at a general Meeting, or Synod, as themselves stile it, decreed, That it is not lawful to take an Oath of Allegiance; and if they be constant to their own Doctrine, do account his Majesty in their Hearts to be but King at the Pope's Discretion.

IN this State of this Kingdom, to think the Bridle of the Army may be taken away, would be the Thought not of a brain-sick, but of a brain-less Man.

The Day of our Deliverance  
from the Popish Powder  
Plot, An-no 1633.

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

in all Duty,

WILL. KILMORE.

By his cutting of Pluralities there fell to be many Vacancies in his Diocese, so the Care he took to fill these, comes to be considered in the next Place. He was very strict in his Examinations before he gave Orders to any. He went over the Articles of the Church of *Ireland* so particularly and exactly, that one who was present at the Ordination of him that was afterwards his Arch-Deacon, Mr. *Thomas Price*, reported that though he was one of the Senior Fellows of the College of *Dublin*, when the Bishop was Provost; yet his Examination held two full Hours: And when he had ended any Examination, which was always done in the Presence of his Clergy, he desired every Clergyman present to examine the Person further, if they thought any material Thing was omitted by him; by which a fuller Discovery of his Temper and Sufficiency might be made.

WHEN all was ended, he made all his Clergy give their Approbation before he would proceed to Ordination: For would never assume that singly to himself, nor take the Load of it wholly on his own Soul.

HE took also great Care to be well informed of the religious Qualities of those he ordained, as well as he satisfied himself by his Examination of their Capacity and Knowledge. He had always a considerable Number of his Clergy assisting him at his Ordinations, and he always preached and administered the Sacrament on those Occasions himself: And he never ordained one a Presbyter, till he had been at least a Year a Deacon, that so he might have a good Account of his Behaviour in that lower Degree, before he raised him higher.

HE



He looked upon that Power of Ordination as the most sacred of a Bishop's Trust, and that in which the Laws of the Land had laid no Sort of Imposition on them, so that this was entirely in their Hands, and therefore he thought they had so much the more to answer for to God on that Account; and he weighed carefully the Importance of those Words, *lay Hands suddenly on no Man, and be not a Partaker of other Mens Sins.* Therefore he used all the Precaution that was possible in so important an Affair. He was never prevailed on by any Recommendations nor Importunities to ordain any; as if Orders had been a Sort of Freedom in a Company, by which a Man was to be enabled to hold as great a Portion of the Ecclesiastical Revenue as he could compass. Nor would he ever ordain any without a Title to a particular Flock. For he thought a Title to a Maintenance was not enough; as if the Church should only take care that none in Orders might be in Want; but he saw the Abuses of those false Titles, and of the vagrant Priests that went about as Journeymen, plying for Work, to the great Reproach of that sacred Employment. And in this he also followed the Rule set by the fourth general Council that carried this Matter so high, as to annul all Orders that were given without a particular Designation of the Place, where the Person was to serve. For he made the Primitive Times his Standard, and resolved to come as near it as he could, considering the corruption of the Age in which he lived.

He remembered well the Grounds he went on, when he refused to pay Fees for the Title to his Benefice in *Suffolk*, and therefore took Care that those who were ordained by him, or had Titles to Benefices from him, might be put to no Charge: For he wrote all the Instruments himself, and delivered

vered them to the Persons to whom they belonged, out of his own Hands, and adjured them in a very solemn Manner, to give nothing to any of his Servants. And, that he might hinder it all that was possible, he waited on them always on those Occasions to the Gate of his House, that so he might be sure that they should not give any Gratification to his Servants. He thought it lay on him to pay them such convenient Wages as became them, and not to let his Clergy be burthened with his Servants. And indeed the Abuses in that were grown to such a Pitch, that it was necessary to correct them in so exemplary a Manner.

HIS next Care was to observe the Behaviour of his Clergy; he knew the Lives of Churchmen had generally much more Efficacy than their Sermons, or other Labours could have; and so he set himself much to watch over the Manners of his Priests; and was very sensibly touched, when an *Irishman* said once to him in open Court, *That the King's Priests were as bad as the Pope's Priests.*— These were so grossly Ignorant, and so openly Scandalous, both for Drunkenness, and all Sorts of Lewdness, that this was indeed a very heavy Reproach: Yet he was no rude nor remorse Reformer, but considered what the Times could bear. He had great Tenderness for the Weakness of his Clergy, when he saw Reason to think otherwise well of them: And he helped them out of their Troubles, with the Care and Compassion of a Father.

ONE of his Clergy held two Livings; but had been couzened by a Gentleman of Quality to farm them to him for less than either of them was worth; and he acquainted the Bishop with this: Who upon that writ very civilly, and yet as became a Bishop,

shop, to the Gentleman, persuading him to give up the Bargain : But having received a sullen and haughty Answer from him, he made the Minister resign up both to him ; for they belonged to his Gift, and he provided him with another Benefice, and put two other worthy Men in these two Churches, and so he put an End to the Gentleman's fraudulent Bargain, and to the Churchman's Plurality.

HE never gave a Benefice to any without obliging them by Oath to perpetual and personal Residence, and that they should never hold any other Benefice with that. So when one *Buchanan* was recommended to him, and found by him to be well qualified, he offered him a Collation to a Benefice, but when *Buchanan* saw that he was to be bound to Residence, and not to hold another Benefice ; he that was already possessed of one, with which he resolved not to part, would not accept on it on those Terms. And the Bishop was not to be prevailed with to dispense with it, though he liked this Man so much the better, because he was akin to the great *Buchanan*, whose Paraphrase of the Psalms he loved beyond all other *Latin* Poetry.

THE *Latin* Form of his Collations concluded thus ; *Obtesting you in the LORD, and enjoining you, by Virtue of that Obedience which you owe to the great Shepherd, that you will diligently feed his Flock committed to your Care, which he purchased with his own Blood ; that you instruct them in the Catholick Faith, and perform Divine Offices in a Tongue understood by the People ; and above all Things, that you shew yourself a Pattern to Believers in good Works, so that the Adversaries may be put to*  
 VOL. XXVII. T Shame,

*Shame, when they find nothing for which they can reproach you.*

HE put all the Instruments in one, whereas Devices had been found out, for the Increase of Fees, to divide these into several Writings; nor was he content to write this all with his own Hand, but sometimes he gave Induction likewise to his Clergy; for he thought none of these Offices were below a Bishop; and he was ready to ease them of Charge all he could. He had by his Zeal and earnest Endeavours prevailed with all his Presbyters to reside in their Parishes; one only excepted, whose Name was *Johnston*. He was of a mean Education, yet he had very quick Parts, but they lay more to the mechanical than to the spiritual Architecture: For the Earl of *Stafford* used him for an Engineer, and gave him the Management of some great Buildings that he was raising in the County of *Wicklow*. But the Bishop finding the Man had a very mercurial Wit, and a great Capacity, he resolved to set him to work, that so he might not be wholly useless to the Church; and therefore he proposed to him the composing an universal Character, that might be equally well understood by all Nations; and he shewed him, that since there was already an universal Mathematical Character, received both for Arithmetick, Geometry, and Astronomy, the other was not impossible to be done. *Johnston* undertook it readily, and the Bishop drew for him a Scheme of the whole Work, which he brought to such Perfection, that, he put it under the Press, but the Rebellion prevented his finishing it.

AFTER the Bishop had been for many Years carrying on the Reformation of his Diocess, he resolved to hold a Synod of all his Clergy, and to establish



establish some Rules for the better Government of the Flock committed to him. He appointed that a Synod should be held thereafter once a Year, on the second Week of *September*; and that in the Bishop's Absence, his Vicar-General, if he was a Priest, or his Arch-Deacon should preside; That no Vicar should be constituted after that, unless he were in Orders, and should hold his Place only during the Bishop's Pleasure. He revived the ancient Custom of Rural Deans, and appointed, that there should be three for the three Divisions of his Diocese, who should be chosen by the Clergy, and should have an Inspection into their Deportment, and make Report to the Bishop of what pass among them, and transmit the Bishop's Orders to them; and that once a Month the Clergy of each Division should meet, and preach by Turns, without long Prayers or Preambles; and that no Excommunication should be made but by the Bishop in Person, with the Assistance of such of his Clergy as should be present. The rest related to some Things of less Importance, that required Amendment. When the News of this was carried to *Dublin*, some said it was an illegal Assembly, and that his presuming to make Canons was against Law. So that it was expected he should be brought up as a Delinquent, and censured in the *Star-Chamber*, or High-Commission-Court: But others look'd on what he had done, as nothing but the necessary Discharge of his Episcopal Function. And it seemed strange if some Rules laid down by common Consent, for the better Government of the Diocese, should have furnished Matter for an Accusation or Censure. His Archdeacon, that was afterwards Archbishop of *Cashel*, gave such an Account of this Matter to the State, that nothing followed upon it. The Bishop had indeed prepared such a Justification of

himself, as would have vindicated him fully before equitable Judges, if he had been questioned for it. Archbishop *Usher*, who knew well how much he could say for himself upon this Head, advised those that moved that he might be brought up upon it, to let him alone, lest he should be thereby provoked to say more for himself than any of his Accusers could say against him.

WHEN he made his Visitations, he always preached himself, and administered the Sacrament; and the Business of his Visitation was, what it ought truly to be, to observe the State of his Diocese, and to give good Instructions both to Clergy and Laity. The Visitations in *Ireland* had been Matter of great Pomp and much Luxury, which lay heavy on the inferior Clergy. Some slight Enquiries were made, and those chiefly for Form's-sake; and indeed nothing was so much minded, as that which was the Reproach of them, the Fees, that were exacted to such an intolerable Degree, that they were a heavy Grievance to the Clergy: And as the Bishop's Visitation came about every Year; so every third Year the Archbishop made his Metropolitan Visitation, and every seventh Year the King's Visitation went round: And in all these, as they were then managed, nothing seemed to be so much aimed at, as how to squeeze and oppress the Clergy, who were glad to purchase their Peace by paying all that was imposed on them, by those severe Exactors. These Fees at Visitations were not known in the primitive Times, in which the Bishop had the whole Stock of the Church in his Hands to defray what Expence necessarily fell on him, or his Church. It is true, when the Metropolitan, with other Bishops, came and ordained the Bishop at his See, it was but reasonable that their Expence should be discharged, and this came to be rated to a certain Sum; and when these

these grew unreasonably high, the Emperors reduced them to a certain Proportion, according to the Revenues of the Sees. But when the Bishops and the inferior Clergy came to have distinct Properties, then the Bishops exacted of their Clergy that which other Vassals owed by their Tenure to the Lord of the Fee, which was the bearing the Expence of their Progress. When they began first to demand those Subsidies from their Clergy, that Practice was condemned, and Provision was made, that in case a Bishop was so poor that he could not bear the Charge to which his Visitation put him, he should be supplied by the richer Bishops about him, but not prey upon his Clergy. And both *Charles* the Great, and his Son *Lewis*, took Care to see this executed: Yet this Abuse was still kept up, so that afterwards, instead of putting it quite down, it was only regulated, that it might not exceed such a Proportion; but that was not observed: So that an arbitrary Tax was in many Places levied upon the Clergy. But our Bishop reformed all these Excesses, and took nothing but what was by Law and Custom established, and that was employed in entertaining the Clergy: And when there was any Overplus, he sent it always to the Prisons, for the Relief of the Poor.

At his Visitation, he made all his Clergy sit with him, and be covered, whenever he himself was covered. For he did not approve of the State, in which others of his Order made their Visitations; nor the Distance to which they obliged their Clergy. And he had that Canon often in his Mouth, *That a Presbyter ought not to be let stand after the Bishop was set.* He was much troubled at another Abuse, which was, that when the Metropolitcal and Regal Visitations went round, a Writ was served on the Bishops, suspending their Jurisdiction for that Year:

And when this was first brought to him, he received it with great Indignation, which was increased by two Clauses in the Writ: By the one it was asserted, *That in the Year of the Metropolitan's Visitation, the whole and entire Jurisdiction of the Diocese belonged to him.* The other was the Reason given for it, *Because of the great Danger of the Souls of the People:* Whereas the Danger of Souls arises from that Suspension of the Bishop's Pastoral Power, since during that Year he either could not do the Duty of a Bishop; or if he would exercise it, he must either purchase a Delegation to act as the Archbishop's Deputy, and that could not be had without paying for it, or be liable to a Suit in the Prerogative Court.

HE knew the Archbishop's Power over Bishops was not founded on Divine or Apostolical Right, but on Ecclesiastical Canons; and was only a Matter of Order, and that therefore the Archbishop had no Authority to come and invade his Pastoral Office, and suspend him for a Year. These were some of the worst of the Abuses that the Canonists had introduced in the latter Ages; by which they had broken the Episcopal Authority, and had made Way for vesting the whole Power of the Church in the Pope. He laid those Things often before Archbishop *Usher*, and pressed him earnestly to set himself to the reforming them; since they were acted in his Name, and by virtue of his Authority deputed to his Chancellor, and to the other Officers of the Court, called the *Spiritual Court*. No Man was more sensible of those Abuses than *Usher* was; no Man knew the Beginning and Progress of them better, nor was more touched with the ill Effects of them; and, together with his vast Learning, no Man had a better Soul, and a more Apostolical Mind.

IN



IN his Conversation he expressed the true Simplicity of a Christian: For Passion, Pride, Self-will, or the Love of the World, seemed not to be so much as in his Nature; so that he had all the Innocence of the Dove in him. He had a Way of gaining People's Hearts, and of touching their Consciences, that looked like somewhat of the Apostolical Age revived: He spent much of his Time in those two best Exercises, secret Prayer, and dealing with other People's Consciences, either in his Sermons or private Discourses; and what remained he dedicated to his Studies, in which those many Volumes that came from him shewed a most amazing Diligence and Exactness: So that he was certainly one of the greatest and best Men that the Age, or perhaps the World, has produced. But he was not made for the governing Part of his Function: He had too gentle a Soul to manage that rough Work of reforming Abuses; and therefore he left Things as he found them. He hoped a Time of Reformation would come: He saw the Necessity of cutting off many Abuses, and confessed, that the tolerating those abominable Corruptions that the Canonists had brought in, was such a Stain upon our Church, that he apprehended it would bring a Curse and Ruin upon the whole Constitution. But though he prayed for a more favourable Conjunction, and would have concurred in a joint Reformation of these Things very heartily; yet he did not bestir himself suitably to the Obligations that lay on him for carrying it on: And it is very likely that this sat heavy on his Thoughts when he came to die; for he prayed often, and with great Humility, That God would forgive him his Sins of Omission, and his Failings in his Duty. Those that upon all other Accounts loved and admired him, lamented this Defect in him; which was the only Allay that seemed

seemed left, and without which he would have been held, perhaps, in more Veneration than was fitting, His Physician, Dr. *Bootius*, that was a *Dutchman*, said truly of him, "If our Primate of *Armagh* were as exact a Disciplinarian, as he is eminent in searching Antiquity, defending the Truth, and preaching the Gospel, he might without doubt deserve to be made the chief Churchman of Christendom." Yet though Bishop *Usher* did not much himself, he had a singular Esteem for that Vigour of Mind, which our Bishop expressed in the reforming these Matters. And now I come to the next Instance of his Pastoral Care, which made more Noise, and met with more Opposition, than any of the former.

HE found his Court, that sat in his Name, was an entire Abuse: It was managed by a Chancellor, that had bought his Place from his Predecessor; and so thought he had a Right to all the Profits that he could raise out of it, and the whole Business of the Court seemed to be nothing but Extortion and Oppression. For it is an old Observation, That Men who buy Justice, will also sell it. Bribes went about almost barefaced, and the Exchange they made of Penance for Money was the worst Sort of *Simony*; being in Effect the very same Abuse that gave the World such a Scandal when it was so indecently practised in the Church of *Rome*, and opened the Way to the Reformation: For the Selling of Indulgences is really but a Commutation of Penance. He found the Officers of the Court made it their Business to draw People into Trouble by vexatious Suits, and to hold them so long in it that for Three-pence worth of the Tithe of Turf, they would be put to five Pounds Charge. And the most solemn and sacred of all the Church-Censures,

Ex-

Excommunication, went about in so base a Manner, that all Regard to it, as it was a spiritual Censure, was lost, and the Effects it had in Law made it be cried out on as a most intolerable Piece of Tyranny. And of all this the good Primate was so sensible, that he gives this sad Account of the Venality of all sacred Things, in a Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury:

*As for the general State of Things here, they are so desperate, that I am afraid to write any thing thereof. Some of the adverse Part have asked me the Question, Where I have heard or read before, that Religion and Mens Souls should be set to Sale, after this Manner? Unto whom I could reply nothing, but that I had read in Mantuan, that there was another Place in the World where*

*Cœlum est venale, Deusque.*

*Both Heaven and GOD Himself are set to Sale.*

BUT our Bishop thought it not enough to lament this; he resolved to do what in him lay to correct these Abuses, and to go and sit and judge in his own Courts himself. He carried a competent Number of his Clergy with him, who sat about him, and there he heard Causes, and by their Advice he gave Sentence. By this Means so many Causes were dismissed, and such a Change was wrought in the whole Proceedings of the Court, that instead of being any more a Grievance to the Country, none were now grieved by it but the Chancellor, and the other Officers of the Court, who saw their Trade was sunk, and their Profits were falling, and were already displeased with the Bishop, for writing the Titles to Benefices himself, taking that Part of their Gain out of their Hands. Therefore the  
Lay-

Lay-Chancellor brought a Suit against the Bishop into Chancery, for invading his Office. The Matter was now a common Cause; the other Bishops were glad at this Step our Bishop had made, and encouraged him to go on resolutely in it, and assured him they would stand by him; and they confessed they were but Half-Bishops 'till they could recover their Authority out of the Hands of their Chancellors. But on the other Hand all the Chancellors and Registers of *Ireland* combined together, who saw this struck at those Places which they had bought. The Bishop desired that he might be suffered to plead his own Cause himself; but that was denied him. But he drew the Argument that his Council made for him; for it being the first Suit that ever was of that Sort, he was more capable of composing his Defence than his Council could be.

HE went upon these Grounds, That one of the most essential Parts of a Bishop's Duty was to govern his Flock, and to inflict spiritual Censures on obstinate Offenders: That a Bishop could no more delegate this Power to a Lay-man, than he could delegate a Power to baptize or ordain, since Excommunication and other Censures were a suspending the Rights of Baptism and Orders; and therefore the judging of these Things could only belong to him that had the Power to give them; and that the delegating that Power was a Thing null of itself. He shewed, that feeding the Flock was inseparable from a Bishop, and that no Delegation he could make, could take that Power from himself; since all the Effect it could have was, to make another his Deputy in his Absence. Next he shewed how it had been ever look'd on as a necessary Part of the Bishop's Duty, to examine and censure the Scandals



dals of his Clergy and Laity in ancient and modern Times: That the *Roman* Emperors had by many Laws supported the Credit and Authority of these Courts; that since the Practices of the Court of *Rome* had brought in such a Variety of Rules, for covering the Corruptions which they intended to support; that which is in itself a plain and simple Thing, was made very intricate: So that the Canon Law was become a great Study; and upon this Account, Bishops had taken Civilians and Canonists to be their Assistants in those Courts: But this could be for no other End, but only to inform them in Points of Law, or to hear and prepare Matters for them. For the giving Sentence, as it is done in the Bishop's Name, so it is really his Office; and is that for which he is accountable both to God and Man: And since the Law made those to be the Bishop's Courts, and since the King had by Patent confirmed that Authority, which was lodged in him by his Office of governing those Courts, he thought all Delegations that were exclusive of the Bishop, ought to be declared void.

THE Reader will perhaps judge better of the Force of this Argument than the Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, *Bolton*, did, who confirmed the Chancellor's Right, and gave him an hundred Pound Costs of the Bishop. But when the Bishop asked him, How he came to make so unjust a Decree? He answered, all his Father had left him was a Register's Place; so he thought he was bound to support those Courts, which he saw would be ruined, if the Way he took had not been check'd.

As this was a leading Case, great Pains were taken to possess the Primate against the Bishop; but his Letters will best discover the Grounds on which he went, and that noble Temper of Mind that supported

ported him in so great an Undertaking. The one is long, but I will not shorten it.

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER,  
my honourable good Lord,

*I Have received your Grace's Letters concerning Mr. Cooke, and I do acknowledge all that your Grace writes to be true, concerning his Sufficiency and Experience to the Execution of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction: Neither did I forbear to do him Right, in giving him that Testimony, when before the Chapter I did declare and shew the Nullity of his Patent. I have heard of my Lord —————'s Attempt; and I do believe, that if this Patent had due Form, I could not overthrow it, how unequal soever it be. But failing in the essential Parts, besides sundry other Defects, I do not think any reasonable Creature can adjudge it to be good. I shall more at large certify your Grace of the whole Matter, and the Reasons of my Counsel herein. I shall desire herein to be tried by your Grace's own Judgment, and not by your Chancellor's; or, as I think in such a Case I ought to be, by the Synod of the Province. I have resolved to see the End of this Matter; and do desire your Grace's Favour herein no farther than the Equity of the Cause, the Good, as far as I can judge, of our Church in a high Degree require. So with my humble Service to your Grace, and respectful Commendations to Mrs. Usher, I rest*

Kilmore, Oct. 28,  
1629.

Your Grace's  
in all Duty,

WILL. KILMORE.

MOST

MOST REVEREND FATHER,

my honourable good Lord,

*SINCE* it pleased GOD to call me to this Place in this Church, what my Intentions have been to the Discharge of my Duty, he best knows. But I have met with many Impediments and Discouragements; and chiefly from them of mine own Profession in Religion. Concerning Mr. Hoile, I acquainted your Grace: Sir Edward Bagshaw, Sir Francis Hamilton, Mr. William Flemming, and divers more have been, and yet are, pulling from the Rights of my Church. But all these have been light in respect of the dealing of some others, professing me Kindness, by whom I have been blazed a Papist, an Equivocator, a niggardly Housekeeper, an Usurer: And to make up all, that I compared your Grace's Preaching to one Mr. Whiskins's, Mr. Creighton's, and Mr. Baxter's, and preferred them: That you found yourself deceived in me. These Things have been reported at Dublin, and some of the best affected of mine own Diocese induced hereby to bewail with Tears the Misery of the Church: Some of the Clergy also, as it was said, looking about how they might remove themselves out of this Country.

OMITTING all the rest, I cannot but touch upon the last, preferring others to your Grace's preaching. Thus it was, Mr. Dunsterville acquainted me with his Purpose to preach out of Prov. xx. 6. But a faithful Man who can find. Where he said, the Doctrine he meant to raise was this, That Faith is a rare Gift of GOD. I told him, I thought he mistook the Meaning of the Text, and wished him to chuse longer Texts, and not bring his Discourses to a Word or two of Scripture; but rather to declare those of the Holy Ghost. He said your Grace did so sometimes. I answered, there might

be just Cause, but I thought you did not so ordinarily. As for those Men, Mr. Whisksins, and the rest, I never heard any of them preach to this Day. Peradventure, their Manner is to take longer Texts; whereupon the Comparison is made up, as if I preferred them before you. I know your Grace will not think me such a Fool (if I had no Fear of GOD) to prefer before your excellent Gifts, Men that I never heard. But look as the French Proverb is, He that is disposed to kill his Dog, tells Men he is mad: And whom Men have once wronged, unless the Grace of GOD be the more, they ever hate. Concerning the Wrongs which these People have offered me, I shall take another Time to inform your Grace. Where they say, Your Grace doth find yourself deceived in me, I think it may be the truest Word they said yet. For indeed I do think both you and many more are deceived in me, accounting me to have some Honesty, Discretion, and Grace, more than you will by Proof find. But if, as it seems to me, that Form hath this Meaning, that they pretend to have undeceived you, I hope they are deceived; yea, I hope they shall be deceived, if by such Courses as these they think to unsettle me, and the Devil himself also, if he thinks to dismay me.

I WILL go on in the Strength of the LORD GOD, and remember his Righteousness, even his alone, as by my Lord of Canterbury, when I first came over, I was exhorted, and have obtained Help of GOD to do to this Day.

BUT had I not Work enough before, but I must bring Mr. Cooke upon my Top? How much better to study to be quiet, and to do mine own Business, as at the first I came with a Resolution to do. But I could not be quiet, nor without Pity hear the Complaints of those that resorted to me, some of them mine own Neighbours and Tenants, called into the Court,



Court, commonly by Information of Apparitors, holden there without just Cause, and not dismissed without excessive Fees. Lastly, one Mr. Mayot, a Minister of the Diocese of Ardagh, made a Complaint to me, that he was excommunicated by Mr. Cooke, notwithstanding the Correction of Ministers was excepted out of his Patent. Whereupon I desired to see the Patent, and to have a Copy of it, that I might know how to govern myself. He said, Mr. Aske being then from home, should bring it to me at his Return. Himself went to Dublin to the Term. At the first View, I saw it was a formless Chaos of Authority, conferred upon him against all Reason and Equity. I had not long after Occasion to call the Chapter together at the Time of Ordination. I shewed the Original, being brought forth by Mr. Aske, desired to know if that were the Chapter-Seal, and these their Hands: They acknowledged their Hands and Seal, and said they were less careful in passing it, because they accounted it did rather concern my Predecessor than them. I shewed the false Latin, Nonsense, Injustice of it, Prejudice to them, Contrariety to itself, and the King's Grant to me. I shewed there were in one Period above five hundred Words, and, which passed the rest, hanging in the Air without any principal Verb. I desired them to consider if the Seal hanging to it were the Bishop's Seal; they acknowledged it was not: Therefore with Protestation, that I meant no way to call in question the Sufficiency of Mr. Cooke, or his former Acts, I did judge the Patent to be void, and so declared it, inhibiting Mr. Cooke to do any thing by virtue thereof, and them to assist him therein. This is the true History of this Business, howsoever Mr. Cooke may disguise it. I suspend him not absent, and indicta causa; it was his Commission, which was present, that I viewed, which, with the Chapter, I censured; which, if he can make good, he shall have Leave, and Time, and Place enough.

AND now to relate to your Grace my Purpose herein. My Lord, I account, that to any Work, to remove Impediments is a great Part of the Performance. And amongst all the Impediments to the Work of GOD amongst us, there is not any one greater than the Abuse of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. This is not only the Opinion of the most godly, judicious, and learned Men that I have known, but the Cause of it is plain. The People pierce not into the inward and true Reason of Things; they are sensible in the Purse: And that Religion that makes Men to be Despisers of the World, and so far from encroaching upon others in Matter of base Gain, as rather to part with their own, they magnify. This bred the Admiration of the Primitive Christians. Contrary Causes must needs produce contrary Effects. Wherefore let us preach never so painfully, and piously: I say more, let us live never so blamelessly ourselves, so long as the Officers in our Courts prey upon them, they esteem us no better than Publicans and Worldlings: And so much the more deservedly, because we are called Spiritual Men, and call ourselves reformed Christians. And if the honest and best of our own Protestants be thus scandalized, what may we think of Papists, such as are all, in a Manner, that we live among? The Time was when I hoped the Church of Ireland was free from this Abuse, at least freer than her Sister of England: But I find I am deceived; whether it be that Distance of Place, and being further out of the Reach of the Scepter of Justice, breeds more Boldness to offend, or necessarily brings more Delay of Redress. I have been wont also in Ireland, to except one Court; but trust me my Lord, I have heard it said, my Lord Primate is a good Man; but his Court is as corrupt as others. Some say worse, and which, I confess to your Grace, did not a little terrify me from visiting till I might see how to do it with Fruit, that of your late Visitation they see no Profit, but the taking of Money.

BUT

BUT to come to Mr. Cooke, of all that have exercised Jurisdiction in this Land these late Years, he is most cried out upon: Albeit he came off with Credit when he was questioned, and justified himself by the Table of Fees (as by a leaden Rule any Stone may be approved as well as hewed). By that little I met with since I came hither, I am induced to believe, it was not for lack of Matter, but there was some other Cause of his escaping in that Trial. By this Table he hath taken in my Predecessors Time, and seeks to take in mine Fees for Exhibits at Visitations, for Unions, Sequestrations, Relaxations, Certificates, Licences, Permutations of Penance, Sentences (as our Court calls them) Interlocutory in Causes of Correction: Such Fees as I cannot in my Conscience think to be just. And yet he doth it in my Name, and tells me I cannot call him into Question for it. Alas, my Lord, if this be the Condition of a Bishop, that he standeth for a Cypher, and only to uphold the Wrongs of other Men, what do I in this Place? Am I not bound by my Profession made to GOD in your Presence, to be gentle and merciful for Christ's Sake to poor and needy People, and such as be destitute of Help? Can I be excused another Day with this, that thus it was ere I came to this Place? Or, sith I am persuaded Mr. Cooke's Patent is unjust and void, am I not bound to make it so? and to regulate, if I may, this Matter of Fees, and the rest of the Disorders of the Jurisdiction, which his Majesty hath intrusted me withal? Your Grace saith, Truly it is a difficult Thing, if not impossible, to overthrow a Patent so confirmed; and I know in Deliberations it is one of the most important Considerations, what we may hope to effect. But how can I tell till I have tried: To be discouraged ere I begin, is it not to consult with Flesh and Blood? Verily I think so; and therefore must put it to the Trial, and leave the Success to GOD. If I obtain the Cause, the Profit will be to this poor Nation; if not, I shall



show my Consent to those my Reverend Brethren that have endeavoured to redress this Enormity before me; I shall have the Testimony of mine own Conscience, to have sought to discharge my Duty to GOD and his People. Yea, which is the Main, the Work of my Ministry and Service to this Nation, shall receive Furtherance howsoever rather than any Hinderance thereby. And if by the Continuance of such Oppressions any Thing fall out otherwise than well, I shall have acquitted myself towards his Majesty, and those that have engaged themselves for me. At last I shall have the better Reason and juster Cause to resign to his Majesty the Jurisdiction, which I am not permitted to manage.

AND here I beseech your Grace, to consider seriously whether it were not happy for us to be rid of this Charge, which not being proper to our Calling, is not possible to be executed without such Deputies as subject us to the ill Conceit of their unjust or indiscreet Carriage? Or if it shall be thought fit to carry this Load still, whether we ought not to procure some Way to be discharged of the Envy of it, and redress the Abuse, with the greatest Strictness we can devise? For my Part, I cannot bethink me of any Course fitter for the present, than to keep the Courts myself, and set some good Order in them. And to this Purpose I have been at Cavan, Belturbet, Granard, and Longford, and do intend to go to the rest, leaving with some of the Ministry there, a few Rules touching those Things that are to be redressed, that if my Health do not permit me always present, they may know how to proceed in my Absence.

YEA, and if Mr. Cooke were the justest Chancellor in this Kingdom, I would think it fit for me, as Things now stand, to sit in these Courts; and the rather since I cannot be heard in the Pulpits to preach



preach as I may in them. I have shewed your Grace my Intentions in this Matter. Now should I require your Direction in many Things, if I were present with you. But for the present it may please you to understand, that at Granard one Mr. Nugent, a Nephew as I take it to my Lord of Westmeath, delivered his Letter to Mr. Aske, which he delivered me in open Court, requiring that his Tenant might not be troubled for Christenings, Marriage, or Funerals, so they pay the Minister his Due. This referred to a Letter of my Lord Chancellor's to the like Purpose, which yet was not delivered till the Court was risen. I answered generally, that none of my Lord's Tenants or others should be wronged. But then I would be strict in requiring them to bring their Children to be baptized; and Marriages likewise solemnized with us, since they acknowledged these to be lawful and true; so as it was but Wilfulness if any forbore. Here I desire your Grace to direct me. For to give Way that they should not be so much as called in Question, seems to further the Schism they labour to make. To lay any pecuniary Moleſt upon them, as the Value of a Licence for Marriage, three Pence or four Pence for a Christening, I know not by what Law it can be done. To excommunicate them for not appearing or obeying, they being already none of our Body, and a Multitude, it is to no Profit, nay rather makes the Case worse.

AND now ceasing to be troublesome, I commend your Grace to the Protection of our merciful Father,

YOUR GRACE'S

Kilmore, Feb. 15, 1629. in all Duty,

Will. Kilmore & Ardagh.

THE other Bishops did not stand by our Bishop in this Matter; but were content to let him fall under Censure, without interposing in it: Even the Primate told him, the Tide was so high that he could assist him no more; for he stood by him longer than any other of the Order had done. But the Bishop was not disheartned by this. And as he thanked him for assisting him so long, so he said he was resolved, by the Help of GOD, to try if he could stand by himself.

He went home, and resolved to go on in his Courts as he had begun, notwithstanding this Censure. For he thought he was doing that which was incumbent on him, and he had a Spirit so made, that he resolved to suffer Martyrdom, rather than fail in any thing that lay on his Conscience. But his Chancellor was either advised by those that governed the State, to give him no Disturbance in that Matter; or was overcome by the Authority he saw in him, that inspired all People with Reverence for him: For as he never called for the 100 Pound Costs, so he never disturbed him any more, but named a Surrogate, to whom he gave Order to be in all Things observant of the Bishop, and obedient to him: So it seems, that tho' it was thought fit to keep up the Authority of the Lay-Chancellors over *Ireland*, and not to suffer this Bishop's Practice to pass into a Precedent; yet order was given under-hand to let him go on as he had begun; and his Chancellor had so great a Value for him, that many Years after this, he said, he thought there was not such a Man on the Face of the Earth as Bishop *Bedell* was; that he was too hard for all the Civilians in *Ireland*; and that if he had not been borne down by meer Force, he had overthrown the Consistorial Courts, and had recovered the Episcopal Jurisdiction out of the

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Chancellor's Hands. But now that he went on undisturbed in his Episcopal Court, he made use of it as became him, and not as an Engine to raise his Power and Dominion; but considering that all Church Power was for Edification, and not for Destruction, he both dispensed Justice equally and speedily, and cut off many Fees and much Expence; and also when scandalous Persons were brought before him to be censured, he considered that Church-Censures ought not to be like the Acts of Tyrants, that punish out of Revenge, but like the Discipline of Parents, that correct in order to the Amendment of their Children: So he studied chiefly to beget in all Offenders a true Sense of their Sins. Many of the *Irish* Priests were brought oft into his Courts for their Lewdness; and upon that he took Occasion with great Mildness, and without scoffing, or Insultings to make them sensible of that tyrannical Imposition in their Church, in denying their Priests leave to marry, which occasioned so much Impurity among them; and this caused a good Effect on some.

THIS leads me to another Part of his Character, the Care he took of the Natives: He observed with much Regret, that the *English* had all along neglected the *Irish*, as a Nation not only conquered but undisciplinable: And that the Clergy had scarce considered them as a Part of their Charge, but had left them wholly in the Hands of their own Priests, without taking any other Care of them, but making them pay their Tythes. And indeed their Priests were a strange Sort of People, that knew generally nothing but the Reading their Offices, which were not so much as understood by many of them: So that the State both of the Clergy and Laity was such, that it could not but raise great Compassion in a Man that had so tender a Sense

Sense of the Value of those Souls that *Christ* had purchased with his Blood: Therefore he resolved to set about that Apostolical Work of converting the Natives with the Zeal and Care that so great an Undertaking required. He knew the Gaining of some of the more knowing of their Priests was like to be the quickest Way; for by their Means he hoped to spread the Knowledge of the Reformed Religion among the Natives; or rather of the Christian Religion, to speak more strictly. For they had no Sort of Notion of Christianity, but only knew that they were to depend upon their Priests, and were to confess such of their Actions, as they call Sins, to them; and were to pay them Tythes.

THE Bishop prevailed on several Priests to change, and he was so well satisfied with the Truth of their Conversion, that he provided some of them Ecclesiastical Benefices; which was thought a strange Thing, and was censured by many, as contrary to the Interest of the *English* Nation. For it was believed that all those *Irish* Converts were still Papists at the Heart, and might be so much the more dangerous, by that Disguise which they had put on. But he on the other hand considered chiefly the Duty of a Christian Bishop: He also thought the true Interest of *England* was to gain the *Irish* to the Knowledge of Religion, and to bring them by the Means of that, which only turns the Heart to love the *English* Nation: And so he judged the Wisdom of that Course was apparent, as well as the Piety of it; since such as changed their Religion would become thereby so odious to their own Clergy, that this would provoke them to further Degrees of Zeal in gaining others to come over after them: And he took great Care to work in those whom he trusted with the Care of

Souls,



Souls, a full Conviction of the Truth of Religion, and a deep Sense of the Importance of it. And in this he was so happy, that of all the Converts that he had raised to Benefices, there was but one that fell back, when the Rebellion broke out: And he not only apostatized, but both plundered and killed the *English* among the first. But no Wonder if one Murderer was among our Bishop's Converts, since there was a Traitor among the Twelve that followed our Saviour.

THERE was a Convent of Friars very near him, on whom he took much Pains, with very good Success. That he might furnish his Converts with the Means of instructing others, he made a short Catechism to be printed in one Sheet, being *English* on the one Page, and *Irish* on the other; which contained the Elements, and most necessary Things of the Christian Religion, together with some Forms of Prayer, and some of the most instructing Passages of Scripture: This he sent about all over his Diocese; and it was received with great Joy, by many of the *Irish*, who seemed to be hungering and thirsting after Righteousness, and received this Beginning of Knowledge so well, that it gave a good Encouragement to hope well upon further Endeavours.

THE Bishop did also set himself to learn the *Irish* Tongue; and though it was too late for a Man of his Years to learn to speak it, yet he came to understand it to such a Degree, as to compose a compleat Grammar of it (which was the first that ever was made, as I have been told) and to be a Critick in it: He also had Common Prayer read in *Irish* every Sunday in his Cathedral for the Benefit of the Converts he had made, and was always present at it himself, and he engaged all his Clergy.

Clergy to set up Schools in their Parishes ; for there were so very few bred to read or write, that this obstructed the Conversion of the Nation very much. The New Testament and the Book of Common-Prayer were already put in the *Irish* Tongue ; but he resolved to have the whole Bible, the Old-Testament as well as the New, put also into the Hands of the *Irish* ; and therefore he laboured much to find out one that understood the Language so well that he might be employed in so sacred a Work : And by the Advice of the Primate, and several other eminent Persons, he pitched upon one *King*, that had been converted many Years before, and was believed to be the elegantest Writer of the *Irish* Tongue then alive, both for Prose and Poetry. He was then about Seventy, but notwithstanding his Age, the Bishop thought him not only capable of this Employment, but qualified for an higher Character ; therefore he put him in Orders, and gave him a Benefice in his Diocese, and set him to work, in translating the Bible ; which he was to do from the *English* Translation, since there were none of the Nation to be found that knew any thing of the Originals. The Bishop set himself so much to the revising this Work, that always after Dinner or Supper he read over a Chapter ; and as he compared the *Irish* Translation with the *English*, so he compared the *English* with the *Hebrew* and the Seventy Interpreters ; and he corrected the *Irish* where he found the *English* Translators had failed. He thought the Use of the Scriptures was the only Way to let the Knowledge of Religion in among the *Irish*, as it had first let the Reformation into the other Parts of *Europe* : And he used to tell a Passage of a Sermon that he heard *Fulgentius* preach at *Venice*. It was on these Words of *Christ*, *Have ye not read* ; and so he took Occasion to tell the

the Auditory, That if *Christ* were now to ask this Question, *Have ye not read?* all the Answer they could make to it, was, *No, for they were not suffered to do it.* This was not unlike what the same Person delivered in another Sermon preaching upon *Pilate's* Question, *What is Truth?* he told them that at last after many Searches he had found it out, and held out a New-Testament, and said, *There it was in his Hand,* but then he put it into his Pocket, and said coldly, *But the Book is prohibited.* The Bishop had observed that in the Primitive Times as soon as Nations, how barbarous soever they were, began to receive the Christian Religion, they had the Scriptures translated into their Vulgar Tongues: And that all People were exhorted to study them; therefore he not only undertook and began this Work, but followed it with so much Industry, that in a very few Years he finished the Translation, and resolved to set about the Printing of it: And as he had been at the great Trouble of examining the Translation, so he resolved to run the Venture of the Impression, and took that Expence upon himself. It is scarce to be imagined what could have obstructed so great and so good a Work. The Priests of the Church of *Rome* had Reason to oppose the printing of a Book, that has been always so fatal to them; but it was a deep Fetch to possess reformed Divines with a Jealousy of this Work: Yet that was done; but by a very well disguised Method; for it was said that the Translator was a weak and contemptible Man, and that it would expose such a Work, as this was, to the Scorn of the Nation, when it was known who was the Author of it: And this was infused into the Earl of *Strafford*, and into the Archbishop of *Canterbury*: And a bold young Man, one *Baily*, pretended a Lapse of the Benefice that the Bishop had given to the



Translator, and so obtained a Broad Seal for it though it was in the Bishop's Gift.

THE Bishop was much touched with this, and cited *Baily* to appear before him. He had given him a Vicarage, and had taken an Oath of him never to hold another ; so he objected to him both his violent Intrusion into another Man's Right, and his Perjury. *Baily* to cover himself from the last, procured a Dispensation from the Prerogative Court, notwithstanding his Oath, to hold more Benefices. The Bishop look'd on this as one of the worst and most scandalous Parts of Popery, to dissolve the most sacred of all Bonds ; and it grieved his Soul to see so vile a Thing acted in the Name of Archbishop *Usher*, though it was done by his Surrogates ; so that without any Regard to this, he served his obstinate Clerk with several Canonical Admonitions ; but finding him still hardened in his Wickedness, he deprived him of the Benefice he had given him, and also excommunicated him, and gave Orders that the Sentence should be published through the whole Deanry : Upon which *Baily* appealed to the Prerogative Court, and the Bishop was cited to answer for what he had done. He went and appeared before them, but declined their Authority, and would not answer to them. He thought it below the Dignity of a Bishop to give an Account of a spiritual Censure, that he had inflicted on one of his Clergy, before two Laymen that pretended to be the Primate's Surrogates ; and he put his Declinator in 24 Articles, all written with his own Hand : He excepted to the Incompetency of the Court, both because the Primate was not there in Person, and because they that sat there had given clear Evidences of their Partiality, which he had offered to prove to the Primate himself. He said the Appeal from



from his Sentence lay only to the Provincial Synod, or to the Archbishop's Consistory; and since the Ground of *Baily's* Appeal was the Dispensation that they had given him from his Oath, they could not be the competent Judges of that, for they were Parties: And the Appeal from abusive Faculties lay only to a Court of Delegates by the express Words of the Law: And by many Indications it appeared, that they had prejudged the Matter in *Baily's* Favours, and had expressed great Resentments against the Bishop; and notwithstanding the Dignity of his Office, they had made him wait among the Crowd an Hour and an Half, and had given Directions in the Management of the Cause as Parties against him; they had also manifestly abused their Power in granting Dispen-sations contrary to the Laws of God; and now they presumed to interpose in the just and legal Jurisdiction that a Bishop exercised over his Clergy, both by the Laws of God and the King's Authority. Upon these Grounds he excepted to their Authority, he was served with several Citations to answer, and appeared upon every one of them; but notwithstanding the highest Contempts they put upon him, he shewed no Passion, but kept his Ground still. In Conclusion he was declared *Contumax*, and the perjured Intruder was absolved from the Sentence, and confirmed in the Possession of his ill-acquired Benefice. It may be easily imagined, how much these Proceedings were censured by all fair and equitable Men: The Constancy, the Firmness, and the Courage that the Bishop expressed, being as much commended, as the Injustice and Violence of his Enemies was cried out upon. The strangest Part of this Transaction was, that which the Primate acted, who, though he loved the Bishop beyond all the rest of the Order, and valued him highly for the zealous

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Discharge of his Office, that distinguished him so much from others; yet could not be prevailed on to interpose in this Matter; nor to stop the unjust Prosecution that this good Man had fallen under, for so good a Work. Indeed it went farther, for upon the Endeavours he used to convert the *Irish*; and after he had refused to answer in the Archbishop's Court, it appears that he was in some Measure alienated from him, which drew from the Bishop the following Answer to a Letter, that he had from him.

Most Reverend FATHER,

My Honourable Good Lord,

**T**HE Superscription of your Grace's Letters was most welcome unto me, as bringing under your own Hand the best Evidence of the Recovery of your Health, for which I did and do give hearty Thanks unto GOD: For the Contents of them, as your Grace conceived, they were not so pleasant. But the Words of a Friend are faithful, saith the wise Man; yet they are no less painful than any other. Unkindness cuts nearer to the Heart than Malice can do. Concerning your Grace's said Letters, I have been at some Debate with myself, whether I should answer them with David's Demand, What have I now done? Or as the Wrongs of Parents, with Patience and Silence. But Mr. Dean telling me, that this Day he is going towards you, I will speak once, come of it what will.

You write, that the Course I took with the Papists, was generally cried out against; neither do you remember in all your Life that any Thing was done here by any of us, at which the Professors

fellors of the Gospel did take more Offence, or by which the Adversaries were more confirmed in their Superstitions and Idolatry ; wherein you could wish that I had advised with my Brethren before I would adventure to pull down that which they have been so long a Building. Again, what I did, you know, was done out of a good Intention ; but you was assured that my Project would be so quickly refuted with the present Success and Event, that there would be no Need my Friends should advise me from building such Castles in the Air.

*My Lord, all this is a Riddle to me. What Course I have taken with the Papists ; what I have done at which your Professors of the Gospel did take such Offence, or the Adversaries were so confirmed ; what is it that I have adventured to do ; or what Piece so long a Building, I have pulled down ; what those Projects were, and those Castles in the Air so quickly refuted with present Success, as the LORD knows, I know not : For truly since I came to this Place I have not changed one jot of my Purpose or Practice, or Course with the Papists from that which I held in England, or in Trinity-College, or found (I thank GOD) any ill Success, but the Slanders only of some Persons discontented against me for other Occasions. Against which I cannot hope to justify myself, if your Grace will give Ear to private Informations. But let me know, I will not say, my Accuser, (let him continue masked 'till GOD discover him) but my Transgression, and have Place of Defence ; and if mine Adversary writes a Book against me, I will hope to bear it on my Shoulder, and bind it to me as a Crown.*

*FOR my Recusation of your Court, I see it has stirred not only Laughter, but some Coals too. Your Chancellor desires me to acquit him to you, that he is*

none of those Officers I meant; I do it very willingly; for I neither meant him nor any Man else. But tho' it concerned your Grace to know what I credibly heard to be spoken concerning your Court, yet I did not think it was fit to take away the Jurisdiction from Chancellors, and put it into the Bishops Hands alone: Nor imagine you would account that a Wrong from me, which out of my Duty to GOD and you, I thought was not to be concealed from you. Some other Passages there be in your Grace's Letters, which I—but I will lay my Hand upon my Mouth, and craving the Blessing of your Prayers, ever remain,

YOUR GRACE'S

Poor Brother, and

Humble Servant,

WILL. KILMORE.

The Malice of Mr. King's Enemies was not satisfied with the spoiling him of his Benefice. For often it falls out, that those who have done Acts of high Injustice, seek some Excuse for what they have done, by new Injuries, and a vexatious Prosecution of the injured Person, designing by the Noise, that such repeated Accusations might raise, to possess the World with an Opinion of his Guilt, which much Clamour does often produce; and so to crush the Person so entirely, that he may never again be in a Capacity to recover himself, and to obtain his Right. But I will give the Reader a clearer View of this invidious Affair from a Letter which the Bishop writ concerning it to the Earl of *Strafford*.

Right



Right Honourable, my good Lord,

**T**HAT which I have sometimes done willingly, I do now necessarily, to make my Address to your Honour by Writing. My Unfitness for Conversation heretofore hath pleaded for me, and now your Lordship's Infirmary allows, and in a Sort inforces it. The Occasion is, not my Love of Contention, but GOD's Honour and yours. I have lately received Letters from my Lord of Canterbury; whereby I perceive his Grace is informed that Mr. King, whom I employed to translate the Bible into Irish, is a Man so ignorant, that the Translation cannot be worthy publick Use, and besides, obnoxious, so as the Church can receive no Credit from any Thing that is his. And his Grace adds, That he is so well acquainted with your Lordship's Disposition, that he assures himself you would not have given away his Living, had you not seen just Cause for it. I account myself bound to satisfy his Grace herein, and desire, if I may be so happy, to do it by satisfying you. I subscribe to his Grace's Persuasion, that if your Lordship, had not conceived Mr. King to be such as he writes, you would not have given away his Living. But, my Lord, the greatest, wisest, and justest Men do, and must take many Things upon the Information of others; who themselves are Men, and may sometimes out of Weakness, or some other Cause, be deceived. I beseech your Lordship to take Information, not by them which never saw him till Yesterday, but by the Ancient, either Church or Statesman of this Kingdom (in whose Eyes he hath lived these many Years) as are the Lord Primate, the Bishop of Meath, the Lord Dillon, Sir James Ware, and the like: I doubt not but your Lordship shall understand that there is no such Danger that the Translation should be unworthy, because he did it; being a Man of that known Sufficiency for the Irish especially, either in Prose or Verse, as few are his Matches in the Kingdom. And  
not

not to argue by conjecture, let the *Work* itself speak, yea, let it be examined rigoroso examine: If then it be found approveable, let it not suffer Disgrace from the small Boast of the *Workman*, but let him rather, be absolved for the Sufficiency of the *Work*. Touching his being obnoxious, it is true that there is a scandalous Information put in against him in the High-Commission Court, by his Despoiler Mr. Baily, and by an excommunicate Despoiler as my self, before the Execution of any Sentence, declar'd him in the Court to be. And Mr. King being cited to answer, and not appearing, (as by Law he was not bound) was taken pro Confesso, deprived of his Ministry and Living, fined an Hundred Pound, decreed to be imprisoned. His Adversary Mr. Baily, before he was sentenced, purchased a new Dispensation to hold his Benefice, and was the very next Day after, both presented in the King's Title (although the Benefice be of my Collation) and instituted by my Lord Primate's Vicar: Shortly after inducted by an Arch-deacon of another Diocess, and a few Days after, he brought down an Attachment, and delivered Mr. King to the Pursuivant: He was halled by the Head and Feet to Horseback, and brought to Dublin; where he hath been continued under Arrest these four or five Months; and hath not been suffered to purge his supposed Contempt, by Oath and Witnesses, that by Reason of his Sickness he was hindered, whereby he was brought to Death's-Door, and could not appear: And that by the Cunning of his Adversary he was circumvented, intreating that he might be restored to Liberty. But it hath not availed him. My Reverend Colleagues of the High-Commission do some of them pity his Case, others say the Sentence past cannot be reversed, least the Credit of the Court be attacked. They bid him simply submit himself, and acknowledge his Sentence just. Whereas the Bishops of Rome themselves, after most formal Proceedings, do grant Restitution in integrum,

grum, and acknowledge, that *Sententia Romanæ Sedis potest in melius commutari.* My Lord, if I understand what is right Divine or human, these be Wrongs upon Wrongs; which if they reached only to Mr. King's Person, were of less Consideration; but, when through his Side, that great Work, the Translation of GOD's Book, so necessary for both his Majesty's Kingdoms, is mortally wounded, pardon me, I beseech your Lordship, if I be sensible of it. I omit to consider, what Feast our Adversaries make of our rewarding him thus for that Service; or what this Example will avail to the alluring of others to Conformity. What should your Lordship have gained if he had died (as it was almost a Miracle he did not) under Arrest, and had been at once deprived of Living, Liberty and Life? GOD hath reprieved him, and given your Lordship Means upon right Information, to remedy with one Word all Inconveniencies. For Conclusion, good my Lord, give me Leave a little to apply the Parable of Nathan to King David to this Purpose: If the Way-faring Man, that is come to us (for such he is, having never yet been settled in one Place) have so sharp a Stomach that he must be provided for with Pluralities, sith there are Herds and Flocks plenty; suffer him not, I beseech you, under the Colour of the King's Name take the Ewe of a poor Man, to satisfy his ravenous Appetite. So I beseech the Heavenly Physician to give your Lordship Health of Soul and Body. I rest,

My LORD,

Your LORDSHIP's most humble Servant

Decr 1, 1638.

In Christ Jesus,

WILL. KILMORE.

By these Practices was the Printing of the Bible in *Irish* stopped at that Time; but if the Rebellion had not prevented our Bishop, he was resolved to have had it done in his own House, and at his own Charge; and as preparatory to that, he made some  
of



of *Chrysostome's* Homilies, together with some of *Leo's*, to be translated both into *English* and *Irish*; and reprinting his Catechism, he added these to it in both Languages; and these were very well received, even by the Priests and Friars themselves.

He lived not to finish this great Design; yet, notwithstanding the Rebellion and Confusion that followed in *Ireland*, the Manuscript of the Translation of the Bible escaped the Storm; and falling into good Hands, it is at this Time under the Press, and is carried on chiefly by the Zeal, and at the Charge, of that noble Christian Philosopher, Mr. *Boyle*.

BUT to go on with the Concerns of our Bishop, as he had great Zeal for the Purity of the Christian Religion, in Opposition to the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*; so he was very moderate in all other Matters, that were not of such Importance. He was a great Supporter of Mr. *Dury's* Design of reconciling the *Lutherans* and the *Calvinists*; and as he directed him by many learned and prudent Letters, so he allowed him twenty Pounds a Year, in order to the discharging the Expence of that Negotiation. And it appeared, by his managing of a Business that fell out in *Ireland*, that if all that were concerned in that Matter had been blessed with such an Understanding, and such a Temper as he had, there had been no Reason to have despaired of it.

THERE came a Company of *Lutherans* to *Dublin*, who were afraid of joining in Communion with the Church of *Ireland*; and when they were cited to answer for it to the Archbishop's Consistory, they desired some Time might be granted them for consulting their Divines in *Germany*: And at last

Letters



Letters were brought from thence concerning their Exceptions to Communion with that Church; because the Presence of *Christ* in the Sacrament was not explained in such a Manner as agreed with their Doctrine. The Archbishop of *Dublin* sent these to our Bishop, that he might answer them; and upon that he writ so learned and so full an Answer to all their Objections, that when this was seen by the *German Divines*, it gave them such entire Satisfaction, that they advised their Countrymen to join in Communion with the Church.

HIS Moderation in this Matter was a Thing of no Danger to him, but he expressed it upon more tender Occasions.

THE Troubles that broke out in *Scotland*, upon the Account of the *Book of Common Prayer*, are so well known, that I need not enlarge upon them.

WHEN the Bishop heard of these Things, he said that which *Nazianzen* said at *Constantinople*, when the Stir was raised in the second General Council upon his Account, 'If this great Tempest is risen for our Sakes, take us up, and cast us into the Sea, that so there may be a Calm.' And if all others had governed their Dioceses as he did his, one may adventure to affirm, after *Dr. Bernard*, 'That Episcopacy might have been kept still upon its Wheels.'

SOME of those that were driven out of *Scotland*, came over to *Ireland*: Among these there was one *Corbet*, that came to *Dublin*, who being a Man of quick Parts, writ a very smart Book, shewing the Parallel between the *Jesuits* and the *Scotch Covenanters*. The Spirit that was in this Book, and the Sharpness of the Style, procured the Author such Favour,

Favour, that a considerable Living falling in the Bishop of *Killala's* Gift, he was recommended to it, and so he went to that Bishop, but was ill received by him. The Bishop had a great Affection to his Country, for he was a *Scotchman* born; and tho' he condemned the Courses they had taken, yet he did not love to see them exposed in a strange Nation, and did not like the Man that had done it. The Bishop expressed an Inclination to lessen the Faults of the *Scots*, and to aggravate some Provocations that had been given them. *Corbet* came up full of Wrath, and brought with him many Informations against the Bishop, which at any other Time would not have been much considered; but then, it being thought necessary to make Examples of all that seemed favourable to the Covenanters, it was resolved to turn him out of his Bishoprick, and to give it to *Maxwell*, that had been Bishop of *Ross* in *Scotland*, and was indeed a Man of eminent Parts, but by his Forwardness had been the unhappy Instrument of that which brought on all the Disorders in *Scotland*.

A PURSUIVANT was sent to bring up the Bishop of *Killala*; and he was accused before the high Commission Court; and every Man being ready to push a Man down that is falling under Disgrace, many designed to merit by aggravating his Faults. But when it came to our Bishop's Turn to give his Sentence in the Court, he that was afraid of nothing but sinning against GOD, did not stick to venture against the Stream; he first read over all that was objected to the Bishop at the Bar, then he fetched his Argument from the Qualifications of a Bishop set down by *St. Paul*, in his Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*; and added, that he found nothing in those Articles contrary to those Qualifications, nothing that touched either his Life or Doctrine. He fortified

tified this, by shewing in what Manner they proceeded against Bishops, both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches, and so concluded in the Bishop's Favour. This put many out of Countenance, who had considered nothing in his Sentence but the Consequences that were drawn from the Bishop's Expressions, from which they gathered the ill Disposition of his Mind; so that they had gone high in their Censures, without examining the Canons of the Church in such Cases. But though those that gave their Votes after our Bishop, were more moderate than those that had gone before him; yet the Current run so strong that none durst plainly acquit him, as our Bishop had done: So he was deprived, fined, and imprisoned, and his Bishoprick was given to *Maxwell*, who not long enjoyed it: For he was stripp'd naked, wounded, and left among the Dead, by the *Irish*; but he was preserved by the Earl of *Tomond*, who, passing that Way, took Care of him; so that he got to *Dublin*: And then his Talent of Preaching, that had been too long neglected by him, was better employed; so that he preached very often, to the Edification of his Hearers, that were then in so great a Consternation, that they needed all the Comfort that he could minister to them. He went to the King to *Oxford*, but he was so much affected with an ill Piece of News that he heard concerning some Misfortune in the King's Affairs in *England*, that he was some Hours after found dead in his Study.

THE old degraded Bishop *Adair* was quickly restored to another Bishoprick, which came to be vacant upon a dismal Account, which I would gladly pass over, if I could; but the Thing is too well known. One *Adderton* Bishop of *Waterford*, came to be accused and convicted of a Crime not to be named, that God punished with Fire from Heaven;

and suffered publickly for it: He expressed so great a Repentance, that Dr. *Bernard*, who preached his Funeral-Sermon, and had waited on him in his Imprisonment, had a very charitable Opinion of the State in which he died. Upon this, *Adair's* Case was so represented to the King, that he was provided with that Bishoprick. From which it may appear, that he was not censured so much for any Guilt, as to strike a Terror in all that might express the least Kindness to the *Scots* Covenanters. But our Bishop thought the degrading of a Bishop was too sacred a Thing to be done meerly upon politick Considerations.

BISHOP *Bedell* was exactly conformable to the Forms and Rules of the Church; he went constantly to Common Prayer in his Cathedral, and often read it himself, and assisted in it always with great Reverence and Affection. He took Care to have the publick Service performed strictly according to the Rubrick. He preached constantly twice a Sunday in his Cathedral on the Epistles and Gospels for the Day, and catechized always in the Afternoon before Sermon; and he preached always twice a Year before the Judges, when they made the Circuit. His Voice was low, but as his Matter was excellent, so there was a Gravity in his Looks and Behaviour that struck his Auditors.

WHEN he came within the Church, it appeared in the Composedness of his Behaviour, that he observed the Rule given by the Preacher, of *keeping his Feet when he went into the House of God*; but he was not to be wrought on by the Greatness of any Man, or by the Authority of any Person's Example, to go out of his own Way; though he could not but know that such Things were then

much



much observed, and Measures were taken of Men by these little Distinctions, in which it was thought that the Zeal of Conformity discovered itself.

He preached very often in his Episcopal Habit, but not always, and used it seldom in the Afternoon; nor did he love the Pomp of a Choir, nor Instrumental Musick; which he thought filled the Ear with too much Pleasure, and carried away the Mind from the serious Attention to the Matter, which is indeed the singing with Grace in the Heart, and the inward Melody with which God is chiefly pleased.

He never used the Common Prayer in his Family; for he thought it was intended to be the solemn Worship of Christians in their publick Assemblies, and that it was not so proper for private Families.

So far I have prosecuted the Relation of his most exemplary Discharge of his Episcopal Function, reserving what is more personal and particular to the End, where I shall give his Character. I now come to the Conclusion of his Life, which was suitable to all that had gone before. But here I must open one of the bloodiest Scenes that the Sun ever shone upon, and represent a Nation all covered with Blood, that was in full Peace, under no Fears or Apprehensions, enjoying great Plenty, under no Oppression in Civil Matters, nor Persecution upon the Account of Religion: For the Bishops and Priests of the *Roman* Communion enjoyed not only an Impunity, but were almost as publick in the Use of their Religion, as others were in that which was established by Law; so that they wanted nothing but Empire, and a Power to destroy all that differed from them. And yet on a sudden this happy Land

was turned to a Field of Blood. Their Bishops resolved in one Particular to fulfil the Obligation of the Oath they took at their Consecration, of persecuting all Hereticks to the utmost of their Power; and their Priests, that had their Breeding from *Spain*, had brought over from thence the true Spirit of their Religion, which is ever breathing Cruelty, together with a Tincture of the *Spanish* Temper, that had appeared in the Conquest of the *West Indies*, and so they thought a Massacre was the surest Way to work; and intended, that the Natives of *Ireland* should vie with the *Spaniards* for what they had done in *America*.

THE Conjuncture seemed favourable; for the whole Isle of *Britain* was so imbroiled, that they reckoned they should be able to master *Ireland*, before any Forces could be sent over to check the Progress of their Butchery. The Earl of *Strafford* had left *Ireland* some considerable Time before this. The Parliament of *England* was rising very high against the King; and though the King was then gone to *Scotland*, it was rather for a present quieting of Things, than that he gained them to his Service. So they laid hold of this Conjuncture, to infuse it into the People, that this was a proper Time for them to recover their ancient Liberty, shake off the *English* Yoke, and possess themselves of those Estates that had belonged to their Ancestors: And to such as had some Duty to the King it was given out, that what they were about was warranted by his Authority. A Seal was cut from another Charter, and put to a forged Commission, giving Warrant to what they were going about. And because the King was then in *Scotland*, they made use of a *Scots* Seal. They also pretended, that the Parliaments of both Kingdoms being in Rebellion against the King, the *English* of *Ireland* would be generally

generally in the Interest of the *English* Parliament; so that it was said, they could not serve the King better than by making themselves Masters in *Ireland*, and then declaring for the King against his other rebellious Subjects.

THESE Things took universally with the whole Nation; and the Conspiracy was cemented by many Oaths and Sacraments, and in Conclusion all Things were found to be so ripe, that the Day was set in which they should every where break out; and the Castle of *Dublin* being then a great Magazine, it was resolved that they should seize on it, which would have furnished them with Arms and Ammunition, and have put the Metropolis, and probably the whole Island into their Hands. But, though this was so well laid, that the Execution could not have miss'd, in all human Appearance; and though it was kept so secret, that there was not the least Suspicion of any Design on foot, 'till the Night before; yet then one that was among the Chief of the Managers of it, out of Kindness to an *Irishman*, that was become a Protestant, communicated the Project to him: The other went and discovered it to the Lords Justices; and by this Means not only the Castle of *Dublin* was preserved, but in effect *Ireland* was saved: For in *Dublin* there was both a Shelter for such as were stripp'd and turned out of all they had, and a Place of Rendezvous, where they that escaped before the Storm had reach'd them met, to consult about their Preservation. But though *Dublin* was thus secured, the rest of the *English* and *Scots* in *Ireland* fell into the Hands of those merciless Men, who reckoned it no small Mercy, when they stripp'd People naked, and let them go with their Lives. But the vast Numbers that were butchered by them, which one of their own Writers, in a Discourse that he printed some

Years after, in order to the animating them to go on, boasts to have exceeded two Hundred Thousand; and the barbarous Cruelties they used in murdering them, are Things of so dreadful a Nature, that I cannot go on with so dismal a Narrative, but must leave it to the Historians. I shall say no more of it than what concerns our Bishop: It may be easily imagined how much he was struck with that fearful Storm, that was breaking on every Hand of him, though it did not yet break in upon himself. There seemed to be a secret Guard about his House: For though there was nothing but Fire, Blood, and Desolation round about him; yet the *Irish* were so restrained, as by some hidden Power, that they did him no Harm for many Weeks. His House was in no Condition to make any Resistance; so that it was not any Apprehension of the Opposition that might be made them, that bound them up. Great Numbers of his Neighbours had also fled to him for Shelter: He received all that came, and shared every Thing he had so with them, that all Things were common among them; and now that they had nothing to expect from Men, he invited them all to turn with him to GOD, and to prepare for that Death which they had Reason to look for every Day; so that they spent their Time in Prayer and Fasting, which last was now like to be imposed on them by Necessity.

THE Rebels expressed their Esteem for him in such a Manner, that he had Reason to ascribe it wholly to that over-ruling Power, that stills the Raging of the Seas, and the Tumult of the People: They seemed to be overcome with his exemplary Conversation among them, and with the Tenderness and Charity that he had upon all Occasions expressed for them; and they often said, he should be the last *Englishman* that should be put out of *Ireland*.



land. He was the only *Englishman* in the whole County of *Cavan* that was suffered to live in his own House without Disturbance; not only his House, and all the Out-buildings, but the Church and Church-yard, were full of People; and many, that a few Days before lived in great Ease and Plenty, were now glad of a Heap of Straw or Hay to lie upon, and of some boiled Wheat to support Nature; and were every Day expecting when those Swords, that had, according to the Prophetic Phrase, *drunk up so much Blood*, should likewise be satisfied with theirs. They did now eat the Bread of Sorrow, and mingled their Cups with their Tears. The Bishop continued to encourage them to trust in GOD, and in order to that he preached to them the first LORD's Day after this terrible Calamity had brought them about him, on the third Psalm, which was penned by *David* when there was a general Insurrection of the People against him under his unnatural Son *Absalom*; and he applied it all to their Condition. He had a doleful Assembly before him, an Auditory all in Tears: It requires a Soul of an equal Elevation to his, to imagine how he raised up their Spirits, when he spake to these Words; *But Thou, O LORD, art a Shield for me, my Glory, and the Lifter up of my Head. I laid me down, and slept: I awaked, for the LORD sustained me. I will not be afraid of ten thousands of the People, that have set themselves against me round about. And to the Conclusion of the Psalm, Salvation belongeth unto the LORD: Thy Blessing is upon thy People.* The next LORD's Day, hearing of the Scoffings, as well as the Cruelty, of the *Irish*, he preached on these Words in *Micah*, *Rejoice not against me, O mine Enemy: When I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in Darkness, the LORD shall be a Light unto me. I will bear the Indignation of the LORD, because I have sinned against Him, until He plead my Cause, and execute*

execute Judgment for me: He will bring me forth to the Light, and I shall behold his Righteousness. Then she that is mine Enemy shall see it, and Shame shall cover her which said unto me, Where is the LORD thy GOD? By these Means, and through the Blessing of GOD upon them, they encouraged themselves in GOD, and were prepared for the worst that their Enemies could do to them.

THE *Irish* themselves where at a Stand: The Miscarriage of the Design on *Dublin Castle* was a sad Disappointment: They had no Fleet, nor foreign Support; and though there were some good Officers among them, yet they found the Soldiers to be as cowardly, as the *English* Inhabitants felt them to be cruel. Those of the County of *Cavan* seemed to see their Error: So they came to the Bishop, as the fittest Man to interpose for them; he was willing to oblige those on the one Hand, at whose Mercy he was, and on the other Hand to bring them to such a Submission, as might at least procure some breathing Time to the poor *English*, and to those few Houses that stood out, but were falling within Doors under an Enemy that was more irresistible than the *Irish*: For they were much straitned, their Provisions failing them. The Petition, that they sign'd and sent up to the Lords Justices and Council, was too well penned to come from those that set their Hands to it. It was drawn by the Bishop, who put their Matter in his own Words; therefore I shall insert it here, though it gives the best Colours to their Rebellion of any of all their Papers that I ever saw.

To

To the Right Honourable the Lords Justices and  
Council.

*The humble Remonstrance of the Gentry and Common-  
alty of the County of Cavan, of their Grievances  
common with other Parts of this Kingdom of Ire-  
land.*

**W**HEREAS We, his Majesty's loyal Subjects  
of his Highness's Kingdom of Ireland, have of  
long Time groaned under many grievous Pressures,  
occasioned by the rigorous Government of such placed  
over us, as respected more the Advancement of their  
own private Fortunes than the Honour of his Majesty,  
or the Welfare of us his Subjects; whereof we in  
humble Manner declared ourselves to his Highness by  
our Agents sent from the Parliament, the Representa-  
tive Body of this Kingdom: Notwithstanding which,  
we find ourselves of late threatned with far greater  
and more grievous Vexations, either with Captivity of  
our Consciences, losing our lawful Liberties, or utter  
Expulsion from our native Seats, without any just  
Ground given on our Parts, to alter his Majesty's  
Goodness so long continued to us; of all which we find  
great Cause of Fear, in the Proceeding of our Neigh-  
bour Nations, and do see it already attempted upon by  
certain Petitioners for the like Course to be taken in  
this Kingdom. For the preventing therefore of such  
Evils growing upon us in this Kingdom, we have, for  
the Preservation of his Majesty's Honour, and our  
own Liberties, thought fit to take into our Hands, for  
his Highness's Use and Service, such Forts, and other  
Places of Strength, as coming into the Possession of  
others, might prove disadvantageous, and tend to the  
utter undoing the Kingdom. And we do hereby de-  
clare, That herein we harbour not the least Thought  
of Disloyalty towards his Majesty, or purpose any  
Hurt

Hurt to any of his Highness's Subjects in their Possessions, Goods or Liberty: Only we desire that your Lordships will be pleased to make Remonstrance to his Majesty, for us, of all our Grievances, and just Fears, that they may be removed, and such a Course settled by the Advice of the Parliament of Ireland, whereby the Liberty of our Consciences may be secured unto us, and we eased of our Burdens in Civil Government. As for the Mischiefs and Inconveniences that have already happened through the Disorder of the common Sort of People, against the English Inhabitants, or any other; we with the Noblemen and Gentlemen, and such others of the several Counties of this Kingdom, are most willing and ready to use our and their best Endeavours in causing Restitution and Satisfaction to be made, as in Part we have already done.

AN Answer hereunto is most humbly desired, with such present Expedition as may by your Lordships be thought most convenient for avoiding the Inconvenience of the Barbarousness and Uncivility of the Commonalty, who have committed many Outrages without any Order, Consenting, or Privy of ours. All which we leave to your Lordships most grave Wisdom.

And we shall humbly pray, &c.

BUT this came to nothing: While these Things were in Agitation, the Titular Bishop of Kilmore came to Cavan; he had a Brother, whom the Bishop had converted, and had entertained him in his House, till he found out a Way of Subsistence for him. He pretended that he came only to protect the Bishop, so he desired to be admitted to lodge in his House, and assured him that he would preserve him. But the Bishop hearing of this



this, writ the following Letter in *Latin* to him ;  
I shall give a Translation of it in *English*.

REVEREND BROTHER,

*I* AM sensible of your Civility in offering to protect me by your Presence in the Midst of this Tumult ; and upon the like Occasion I would not be wanting to do the like charitable Office to you : But there are many Things that hinder me from making Use of the Favour you now offer me. My House is strait, and there is a great Number of miserable People of all Ranks, Ages, and of both Sexes, that have fled hither as to a Sanctuary ; besides that, some of them are sick, among whom my own Son is one. But that which is beyond the rest, is the Difference of our Way of Worship : I do not say of our Religion, for I have ever thought, and have published in my Writings, that we have one common Christian Religion. Under our present Miseries, we comfort ourselves with the Reading of the Holy Scriptures, with daily Prayers, which we offer up to GOD in our vulgar Tongue, and with the Singing of Psalms ; and since we find so little Truth among Men, we rely on the Truth of GOD, and on his Assistance. These Things would offend your Company, if not yourself ; nor could others be hindered, who would pretend that they came to see you, if you were among us ; and under that Colour those Murderers would break in upon us, who after they have robbed us, would, in Conclusion, think they did GOD good Service by our Slaughter. For my own Part, I am resolved to trust to the Divine Protection. To a Christian, and a Bishop, that is now almost seventy, no Death for the Cause of Christ can be bitter : On the contrary, nothing is more desirable. And though I ask nothing for myself alone, yet if you will require the People, under an Anathema, not to do any other Acts of Violence to those whom they have so oft beaten, spoiled,

*spoiled, and strip'd, it will be both acceptable to GOD, honourable to yourself, and happy to the People, if they obey you: But if not, consider that GOD will remember all that is now done. To whom, Reverend Brother, I do heartily commend you.*

Yours in CHRIST,

November 2,

1641.

*Will. Kilmore.*

Indorsed thus,

*To my Reverend and Loving Brother, D. Swiney.*

THIS Letter was the last he ever writ, and was indeed a Conclusion becoming such a Pen. It had at that Time some Effect, for the Bishop gave him no Disturbance 'till about five Weeks after this, so that from the 23d of *October*, which was the dismal Day in which the Rebellion broke out, 'till the 18th of *December* following, he, together with all that were within his Walls, enjoyed such Quiet, that if it was not in all Points a Miracle, it was not far from one; and it seemed to be an Accomplishment of those Words, *A Thousand shall fall on thy Side, and Ten Thousand at thy Right-hand; but it shall not come nigh thee; there shall no Evil befall thee; for he shall give his Angels Charge over thee.* But to the former Letter I shall add the last Paper of Spiritual Advice that ever the Bishop writ; which he did at the Request of one Mrs. *Dillon*, that was a zealous and devout Protestant, but had been fatally deluded in her Widowhood by Mr. *Dillon*, Son to the Earl of *Roscommon*, taking him to be a Protestant, and had married him, but enjoyed herself very little after that; for tho' he used no Violence to her, or her Children by her

her former Husband, in the Point of Religion, yet he bred up his Children by her in his own Superstition, and he was now engaged in the Rebellion. So that she had at this Time a vast Addition to her former Sorrows upon her; and therefore desired that the Bishop, whose Neighbour and constant Hearer she had been, would send her such Instructions in this sad Calamity, as might both direct and support her. Upon which he writ the following Paper.

“ **Y**OU desire, as I am inform'd (dear Sister in *Christ Jesus*) that I would send you some short Memorial, to put you in Mind how to carry yourself in this sorrowful Time. I will do it willingly; the more, because with one and the same Labour, I shall both satisfy you, and recollect my own Thoughts also, to the like Performance of mine own Duty. Bethinking myself how I might best accomplish it, there came to my Mind that short Rule which the Apostle mentions in his Epistle to *Titus*, and whereof you have been a diligent Hearer in the School of Grace, where he reduceth the whole Practice of Christianity unto three Heads, of living *Soberly, Justly, and Godly*: This last directing our Carriage towards God, the middlemost towards our Neighbour, and the foremost towards Ourselves. Now since this is a Direction for our whole Life, it seems to me that we have no more to do at any Time, but to con this Lesson more perfectly, with some particular Application of some Parts of it, as are most suitable to the present Occasions. And as to *Sobriety* first, (under which the Virtues of Humility, Modesty, and Contentedness are contained) since this is a Time, wherein, as the Prophet saith, *The LORD of Hosts calleth to Weeping and Mourning, and Pulling off the Hair, and girding with Sack-cloth,*

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you shall, by my Advice, conform yourself to those, that by the Hand of GOD suffer such Things. Let your Apparel and Dress be mournful, as I doubt not but your Mind is; your Diet sparing and coarse, rather than full and liberal; frame yourself to the Indifferency, whereof the Apostle speaketh, *In whatsoever State you shall be, therewith to be content*; to be full, and to be hungry; and to abound and to want. Remember now that which is the Lot of others; you know not how soon it may be your own. Learn to despise, and defy, the vain and falsely called Wealth of this World, whereof you now see, we have so casual and uncertain a Possession.

“ THIS for Sobriety, the first Part of the Lesson pertaining to yourself.

“ Now for *Justice*, which respects others (and containeth the Virtues of Honour to Superiors, discreet and equal Government of Inferiors, Peaceableness to all, Meekness, Mercy, just Dealing in Matters of Getting and Spending, Gratitude, Liberality, just Speech and Desires) GOD's Judgments being in the Earth, the Inhabitants of the World should learn Righteousness, as the Prophet speaketh: Call to Mind therefore, if in any of these you have failed, and turn your Feet to GOD's Testimonies; certainly these Times are such, wherein you may be afflicted, and say with the Psalmist, *Horror hath taken Hold of me, and Rivers of Tears run down mine Eyes, because they keep not thy Laws*. Rebelling against Superiors, Misleading, not only by Example, but by Compulsion, Inferiors; laying their Hands on them that were at Peace with them, unjustly spoiling, and unthankfully requiting, those that had shewed them Kindness, no Faith nor Truth in their Promises: Judge



Judge by the Way, of the School that teacheth *Christ* thus; Are these his Doings? As for those that suffer, I shall not need to stir you up to Mercy and Compassion. That which is done in this Kind, is done to *Christ* Himself, and shall be put upon Account in your Reckoning, and rewarded at his glorious Appearance.

“ THE last and principal Part of our Lesson remains, which teacheth us how to behave ourselves *Godly*, or religiously; to this belong, first, the Duties of *GOD*'s inward Worship, as Fear, Love, and Faith in *GOD*; then outward, as Invocation, the holy Use of his Word and Sacraments, Name and Sabbaths. The Apostle makes it the whole End and Work for which we were set in this World, to seek the *LORD*; yet in publick Affliction, we are specially invited thereto, as it is written of *Jehoshaphat*, when a great Multitude came to invade him, *He set his Face to seek the LORD, and called the People to a solemn Fast*: So the Church professeth in the Prophet *Isaiab*, *In the Way of thy Judgments, LORD, we have waited for Thee, the Desire of our Soul is to thy Name, and to the Remembrance of Thee. With my Soul have I desired Thee in the Night, yea with my Spirit within me will I seek Thee early*. In this publick Calamity therefore it is our Duty, to turn to Him that smiteth us, and to humble ourselves under his mighty Hand, to conceive a reverend and religious Fear towards Him, that only, by turning away his Countenance, can thus trouble us, contrary to the Fear of Man, who can do no more but kill the Body.

“ AGAIN, to renew our Love to our heavenly Father, that now offereth Himself to us, as to Children, and to give a Proof of that Love that we bear to our Saviour, in the keeping of his Sayings,

ings, hating in Comparison of Him, and Competition with Him, Father, Mother, Children, Goods, and Life itself; which is the Condition, and Proof of his Disciples: And above all to receive, and to reinforce our Faith and Affiance, which is now brought to the Tryal of the fiery Furnace, and of the Lions Den. O that it might be found to our Honour, Praise, and Glory, at the appearing of *Jesus Christ*. In the mean Space, even now, let us be Partakers of *Christ's* Sufferings, and hear Him from Heaven encouraging us, *Be thou faithful unto Death, and I will give thee a Crown of Life.*

“ TOUCHING Prayer, we have this gracious Invitation, *Call upon me in the Day of Trouble, and I will hear thee*; the Example of all *God's* Saints, and of our Saviour in his Agony; to this belong the humble Confession of our Sins, with earnest Request of Pardon; the Complaint of our Misery, and Danger, with Request of Succour and Protection; we have besides the Intercession of our Advocate, with the Father, the cry of the Innocent Blood, that hath been cruelly shed, and the *LORD's* own interesting himself in the Cause, so as we may say with the Psalmist, *Arise, O God, plead thine own Cause, remember how the foolish Man, (yea the Man of Sin) reproacheth Thee Daily. Forget not the Voice of thine Enemies; the Tumult of those that rise against Thee, encreasing continually.*

“ THE Stories of *David's* Flight before *Absalom*, and *Jehoshaphat's* Behaviour when the Enemies came against him, of *Hezekiah's*, in *Sennacherib's* Invasion, *Isa. xxxvii.* and the whole Book of *Esther*, are fit Scriptures now to be read, that through the Patience and Comfort of them we might have Hope.

“ Now

“ Now because we know not how soon we may be called to sanctify God’s Name, by making Profession thereof, you may perhaps desire to know what to say in that Day. You may openly profess your not doubting of any Article of the Catholick Faith, shortly laid down in the Creed, or more largely laid down in the Holy Scriptures, but that you consent not to certain Opinions, which are no Points of Faith, which have been brought into common Belief, without warrant of Scriptures, or pure Antiquity, as namely :

“ THAT it is of Necessity to Salvation to be under the Pope.

“ THAT the Scriptures ought not to be read of the common People.

“ THAT the Doctrine of Holy Scripture is not sufficient to Salvation.

“ THAT the Service of GOD ought to be in a Language not understood of the People.

“ THAT the Communion should not be administered to them in both Kinds.

“ THAT the Bread in the LORD’s Supper, is transubstantiated into his Body.

“ THAT he is there sacrificed for the Quick and Dead.

“ THAT there is any Purgatory besides *Christ’s* Blood.

“ THAT our Good Works can merit Heaven.

“ THAT the Saints hear our Prayers, and know our Hearts.

“ THAT Images are to be worshipped.

“ THAT the Pope is Infallible, and can command Angels.

“ THAT we ought to pray to the Dead.

“ IN all these notwithstanding, you may profess your Teachableness, if by sound Reasons out of God's Word, you shall be convinced of the Truth of them : And because we know not how far it will please God to call us to make Resistance against Sin, whether unto Blood itself, or no ; it shall be Wisdom for us to prepare ourselves to the last Care of a godly Life, which is to die Godly. This the Apostle *Paul* calleth, *Sleeping in Jesus*, implying thereby our Faith in him, our being found in his Work, and our committing our Souls into his Hands with Peace ; such a sweet and heavenly Sleep was that of *St. Stephen*, whose last Words for himself were, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit*, and for his Tormentors, *Lord lay not this Sin to their Charge* ; wherewith I will end this Writing, and wish to end my Life, when the Will of God shall be, to whose gracious Protection, dear Sister, I do heartily commit you.”

November 23.

1641.

THESE Advices shew in what Temper that holy Man was in this his Extremity. They had a very good Effect on the Lady ; for as by reading them over very often, she got to be able to say them all without Book, so she did that which was much more,



more, she lodged them in her Heart, as well as her Memory. While this good Man was now every Day waiting for his Crown, the Rebels sent to him, desiring him to dismiss the Company that was about him; but he refused to obey their cruel Order, and resolved to live and die with them; and would much more willingly have offered himself to have died for them, than have accepted of any Favour for himself, from which they would be shut out. And when they sent him Word, that though they loved and honoured him beyond all the *English* that ever came into *Ireland*, because he had never done Wrong to any, but Good to many, yet they had received Orders from the Council of State at *Kilkenny*, that had assumed the Government of the Rebels, that if he would not put away the People, who had gathered about him, they should take him from them; he said no more, but in the Words of *David* and *St. Paul*, *Hare I am, the Lord do with me as seems good to Him, the Will of the LORD be done.*

So on the eighteenth of *December* they came and seized on him, and on all that belonged to him, and carried him and his two Sons, and Mr. *Clogy* Prisoners to the Castle of *Lochwater*, the only Place of Strength in the whole Country.

It was a little Tower in the midst of a Lake, about a Musket shot from any Shoar: And though there had been a little Island about it anciently, yet the Water had so gained on it, that there was not a Foot of Ground above Water, but only the Tower itself. They suffered the Prisoners to carry nothing with them; for the Titular Bishop took Possession of all that belonged to the Bishop, and said Mass the next LORD's Day in the Church. They set the Bishop on Horseback, and made the other Prisoners

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Prisoners go on Foot by him: And thus he was lodged in this Castle, that was a most miserable Dwelling.

The Castle had been in the Hands of one Mr. *Cullum*, who, as he had the keeping of the Fort, trusted to him, so he had a good Allowance for a Magazine to be laid up in it, for the Defence of the Country: But he had not a Pound of Powder, nor one fixt Musket in it, and he fell under the just Punishment of the neglect of his Trust, for he was taken the first Day of the Rebellion, and was himself made a Prisoner here. All but the Bishop were at first clapt into Irons, for the *Irish* that were perpetually drunk, were afraid lest they should seize both on them and on the Castle. Yet it pleased GOD so far to abate their Fury, that they took off their Irons, and gave them no Disturbance in the Worship of GOD, which was now all the Comfort that was left them.

THE House was extremely open to the Weather, and ruinous: And as the Place was bare and exposed, so that Winter was very severe; which was a great Addition to the Misery of those that the Rebels had stript naked, leaving to many not so much as a Garment to cover their Nakedness. But it pleased GOD to bring another Prisoner to the same Dungeon, that was of great Use to them, one *Richard Castledine*, who came over a poor Carpenter to *Ireland*, with nothing but his Tools on his Back, and was first employed by one Sir *Richard Waldron* in the Carpentry Work of a Castle, that he was building in the Parish of *Cavan*: But Sir *Richard* wasting his Estate before he had finished his House, and afterwards leaving *Ireland*, GOD had so blest the Industry of this *Castledine*, during thirty



thirty Years Labour, that he bought this Estate, and having only Daughters, he married one of them, out of Gratitude, to Sir *Richard's* youngest Son, to whom he intended to have given the Estate that was his Father's.

He was a Man of great Virtue, and abounded in good Works, as well as in exemplary Piety : He was so good a Husband that the *Irish* believed he was very rich ; so they preserved him, hoping to draw a great deal of Money from him : He being brought to this miserable Prison, got some Tools and old Boards, and fitted them up as well as was possible, to keep out the Weather. The Keepers of the Prison brought their Prisoners abundance of Provision, but left them to dress it for themselves ; which they that knew little what belonged to Cookery were glad to do in such a Manner as might preserve their Lives ; and were all of them much supported in their Spirits.

THEY did not suffer as Evil Doers, and they were not ashamed of the Cross of *Christ* ; but rejoiced in God in the midst of their Afflictions ; and the old Bishop took joyfully the spoiling of his Goods, and the restraint of his Person, comforting himself in this, That these light Afflictions would quickly work for him a more exceeding and eternal Weight of Glory.

THE Day after his Imprisonment, being the LORD's Day, he preached to his little Flock on the Epistle for the Day, which set before them the Pattern of the Humility and Suffering of *Christ* ; and on *Christmas Day* he preached on *Gal. iv. 4, 5.* and administered the Sacrament to the small Congregation about him ; their Keepers having been so charitable

charitable as to furnish them with Bread and Wine. And on the 26th of *December* Mr. *William Bedell*, the Bishop's eldest Son, preached on St. *Stephen's* last Words, which afforded proper Matter for their Meditation, who were every Day in Expectation when they should be put to give such a Testimony of their Faith, as that first Martyr had done: And on the second of *January*, which was the last *Sunday* of their Imprisonment, Mr. *Clogy* preached on St. *Luke* ii. 32, 33, 34.

During all their religious Exercises, their Keepers never gave them any Disturbance; and indeed they carried so gentle toward them, that their Natures seemed to be so much changed, that it lookt like a second stopping the Mouths of Lions. They often told the Bishop, that they had no personal Quarrel to him, and no other Cause to be so severe to him, but because he was an *Englishman*.

BUT while he was in this dismal Prison, some of the *Scots* of that County, that had retired to two Houses, that were strong enough to resist any Thing but Cannon, and were commanded by Sir *James Craig*, Sir *Francis Hamilton*, and Sir *Arthur Forbes*, now Lord *Grenard*, finding themselves like to suffer more by Hunger, than by the Siege that was laid to them, made so resolute a Sally upon the *Irish*, that they killed several, took some Prisoners, and dispersed the rest, so that many Months passed before they offered to besiege them any more.

AMONG their Prisoners four were Men of considerable Interest; so they treated an Exchange of them for the Bishop, with his two Sons, and Mr. *Clogy*; which was concluded, and the Prisoners were delivered on both Sides on the 7th of *January*:

uary: But though the *Irish* promised to suffer the Bishop with the other three to go safe to *Dublin*, yet they would not let them go out of the Country, but intended to make further Advantage by having them still among them; and so they were suffered to go to the House of an *Irish* Minister, *Denis O'Sheridan*, to whom some Respect was shewed by Reason of his Extraction, though he had forsaken their Religion, and had married an *English* Woman: He continued firm in his Religion, and relieved many in their Extremity.

HERE the Bishop spent the few remaining Days of his Pilgrimage, having his latter End so full in View, that he seemed Dead to the World and every Thing in it, and to be hastening for the Coming of the Day of God. During the last Sabbaths of his Life, though there were three Ministers present, he read all the Prayers and Lessons himself, and likewise preached on all those Days.

ON the 9th of *January* he preached on the whole 44th *Psalms*, being the first of the *Psalms* appointed for that Day, and very suitable to the Miseries the *English* were then in, who were killed all Day long, as Sheep appointed for Meat. Next Sabbath, which was the 16th he preached on the 79th *Pf.* the first *Psalms* for the Day, which runs much on the like Argument, when the Temple was defiled, and *Jerusalem* was laid on Heaps, and the dead Bodies of GOD's Servants were given to be Meat to the Fowls of Heaven, and their Flesh to the Beasts of the Earth, and their Blood was shed like Water, and there was none to bury them. Their Condition being so like one another, it was very proper to put up that Prayer, *O remember not against us, former Iniquities: Let thy tender Mercies speedily prevent*

*prevent us, for we are brought very low. Together with the other. Let the Sighing of the Prisoner come before Thee, according to the Greatness of thy Power, preserve Thou those that are appointed to die.*

ON the 23d, he preached on the last Ten Verses of the 71st Psalm, observing the great Fitness that was in them to express his present Condition, especially in these Words, *O God Thou hast taught me from my Youth, and hitherto have I declared thy wonderful Works: Now also when I am old, and grey beaded, forsake me not.*

AND on the 30th, which was the last LORD's Day, in which he had Strength enough to preach, he preached on the 144th Psalm, the first appointed for that Day, and when he came to the Words in the seventh Verse, which are also repeated in the eleventh, *Send thine Hand from above, rid me and deliver me out of great Waters, from the Hand of strange Children, whose Mouth speaketh Vanity, and whose Right-hand is a Right-hand of Falshood:* He repeated them again and again, with so much Zeal and Affection, that it appeared how much he was hastening to the Day of GOD, and that his Heart was crying out, *Come LORD Jesus, come quickly, how long?* And he dwelt so long upon them, with so many Sighs, that all the little Assembly about him, melted into Tears, and looked on this as a Presage of his approaching Dissolution. And it proved too true, for the Day after, he sickned; which on the second Day after appeared to be an Ague, and on the fourth Day he apprehending his speedy Change, called for his Sons, and his Sons Wives, and spake to them at several Times, as near in these Words, as their Memories could serve them to write them down soon after.

“ I AM



“I AM going the Way of all Flesh; I am now ready to be offered up, and the Time of my Departure is at Hand: Knowing therefore that shortly I must put off this Tabernacle, even as our LORD *Jesus Christ* hath shewed me, I know also that if this my earthly House of this Tabernacle were dissolved, I have a Building of God, an House not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens, a fair Mansion in the *New Jerusalem*, which cometh down out of Heaven from my God. Therefore to me to live is *Christ*, and to die is gain; which increaseth my Desire, even now to depart, and to be with *Christ*, which is far better than to continue here in all the transitory, vain, and false Pleasures of this World, of which I have seen an End.

“HEARKEN therefore unto the last Words of your dying Father; I am no more in this World, but ye are in the World; I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God, thro’ the all-sufficient Merits of *Jesus Christ* my Redeemer; who ever lives to make Intercession for me, who is a Propitiation for all my Sins, and washed me from them all in his own Blood; who is worthy to receive Glory, and Honour, and Power, who hath created all Things, and for whose Pleasure they are and were created.

“My Witness is in Heaven, and my Record on high, that I have endeavoured to glorify God on Earth. And in the Ministry of the Gospel of his dear Son, which was committed to my Trust; I have finished the Work, which he gave me to do, as a faithful Embassador of *Christ*, and Steward of the Mysteries of God. I have preached Righteousness in the great Congregation: Lo I have not refrained my Lips, O LORD, Thou

knowest. I have not hid thy Righteousness within my Heart, I have declared thy Faithfulness, and thy Salvation; I have not concealed thy loving Kindness, and thy Truth from the great Congregation of Mankind. He is near that justifieth me, that I have not concealed the Words of the Holy One; but the Words that he gave to me, I have given to you, and ye have received them.

“I HAD a Desire and Resolution to walk before God, in every Station of my Pilgrimage, from my Youth up to this Day, in Truth, and with an upright Heart, and to do that which was upright in his Eyes, to the utmost of my Power; and what Things were Gain to me formerly, these Things I count now Loss for *Christ*; yea, doubtless, and I account all Things but Loss for the Excellency of the Knowledge of *Jesus Christ* my LORD; for whom I have suffered the Loss of all Things, and I account them but Dung, that I may win *Christ*, and be found in Him, not having my own Righteousness, which is of the Law, but that which is through the Faith of *Christ*, the Righteousness which is of GOD by Faith; that I may know Him, and the Power of his Resurrection, and the Fellowship of his Sufferings, being made conformable unto his Death. I press therefore towards the Mark, for the Prize of the high Calling of GOD in *Jesus Christ*.

“LET nothing separate you from the Love of *Christ*, neither Tribulation, nor Distress, nor Persecution, nor Famine, nor Nakedness, nor Peril, nor Sword; though, as we hear and see, for his Sake we are killed all the Day long, we are counted as Sheep for the Slaughter: Yet in all these Things we are more than Conquerors, through Him that loved us: For I am persuaded, that nei-

ther Death, nor Life, nor Angels, nor Principa-  
 lities, nor Powers, nor Things present, nor Things  
 to come, nor Heighth, nor Depth, nor any Crea-  
 ture shall be able to separate me from the Love of  
 GOD in *Christ Jesu* my LORD. Therefore, love  
 not the World, nor the Things of the World;  
 but prepare daily and hourly for Death, that now  
 besieges us on every Side, and be faithful unto  
 Death, that we may meet together joyfully on  
 the Right-Hand of *Christ* at the last Day, and fol-  
 low the Lamb wheresoever he goeth, with all  
 those that are cloathed with white Robes, in sign  
 of Innocency, and Palms in their Hapds in sign of  
 Victory; which came out of great Tribulation,  
 and have washed their Robes, and made them  
 white in the Blood of the Lamb. They shall  
 hunger no more, nor thirst, neither shall the Sun  
 light on them, or any Heat; for the Lamb, that  
 is in the Midst of the Throne, shall feed them,  
 and shall lead them unto living Fountains of Wa-  
 ters, and shall wipe away all Tears from their  
 Eyes.

“ CHUSE rather with *Moses* to suffer Affliction  
 with the People of GOD, than to enjoy the Plea-  
 sures of Sin for a Season; which will be Bitterness  
 in the latter End. Look therefore for Sufferings;  
 and to be daily made Partakers of the Sufferings of  
*Christ*, to fill up that which is behind of the Afflic-  
 tion of *Christ* in your Flesh, for his Body's Sake,  
 which is the Church. What can you look for,  
 but one Wo after another, while the Man of Sin  
 is thus suffered to rage, and to make Havock of  
 GOD's People at his Pleasure, while Men are di-  
 vided about Trifles, that ought to have been more  
 vigilant over us, and careful of those, whose Blood  
 is precious in GOD's Sight, though now shed eve-  
 ry where like Water. If ye suffer for Righteous-  
 ness,

ness, happy are ye; be not afraid of their Terror, neither be ye troubled; and be in nothing terrified by your Adversaries; which is to them an evident Token of Perdition, but to you of Salvation, and that of GOD. For to you is given in the Behalf of *Christ*, not only to believe on Him, but also to suffer for his Sake. Rejoice therefore in as much as ye are Partakers of *Christ's* Sufferings, that when his Glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding Joy. And if ye be reproached for the Name of *Christ*, happy are ye; the Spirit of Glory and of *Christ* resteth on you, on their Part He is evil spoken of, but on your Part He is glorified.

"GOD will surely visit you in due Time, and turn your Captivity as the Rivers of the South, and bring you back again into your Possession in this Land: Though now for a Season, if Need be, ye are in Heaviness through manifold Temptations; yet ye shall reap in Joy, though now ye sow in Tears: All our Losses shall be recompenced with abundant Advantages, for my GOD will supply all your Need, according to his Riches in Glory by *Jesus Christ*, who is able to do exceeding abundantly for us, above all that we are able to ask or think."

AFTER that he blessed his Children, and those that stood about him, in an audible Voice, in these Words: "GOD of his infinite Mercy bless you all, and present you holy and unblameable, and unreprouable in his Sight, that we may meet together at the Right-Hand of our blessed Saviour *Jesus Christ*, with Joy unspeakable, and full of Glory, Amen." To which he added these Words, "I have fought a good Fight, I have finished the Course of my Ministry and Life together. Though  
grievous



grievous Wolves have entered in among us, not sparing the Flock; yet I trust the great Shepherd of his Flock will save and deliver them out of all Places, where they have been scattered in this cloudy and dark Day; and they shall be no more a Prey to the Heathen, neither shall the Beasts of the Land devour them; but they shall dwell safely, and none shall make them afraid. O LORD I have waited for thy Salvation." And after a little Interval he said, "I have kept the Faith once given to the Saints; for the which Cause I have also suffered these Things; but I am not ashamed, for I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that Day."

AFTER this Time he spoke little; for as his Sickness increased, his Speech failed, and he slumbered out most of the Time, only between Hands it appeared that he was chearfully waiting for his Change; 'till about Midnight, on the 7th of *February*, he fell fast asleep in the LORD, and obtained his Crown, which in some Sort was a Crown of Martyrdom; for no doubt the Weight of Sorrow, that lay upon his Mind, and his ill Usage in his Imprisonment, had much hastened his Death: And he suffered more in his Mind by what he had lived to hear and see these last fifteen Weeks of his Life, than he could have done, if he had fallen by the Sword, among the first of those that felt the Rage of the *Irish*. On the 9th of *February* he was buried according to the Direction himself had given, next his Wife's Coffin. The *Irish* did him unusual Honours at his Burial, for the Chief of the Rebels gathered their Forces together, and with them accompanied his Body from Mr. *Sheridan's* House to the Church-yard of *Kilmore*, in great Solemnity, and they desired Mr. *Clogy* to bury him

according to the Office prescribed by the Church; but though the Gentlemen were so civil as to offer it, yet it was not thought adviseable to provoke the Rabble so much, as perhaps that might have done; so it was pass'd over. But the *Irish* discharged a Volley of Shot at his Interment, and cried out in *Latin*; *Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum, May the last of the English rest in Peace.* For they had often said, That as they esteem'd him the best of the *English* Bishops, so he should be the last that should be left among them.

THUS lived and died this excellent Bishop; in whom so many of the greatest Characters of a Primitive and Apostolical Bishop did shew themselves so eminently, that it seem'd fit that he should still speak to the World, though dead, both for convincing the unjust Enemies of that venerable Order, and for the Instruction of those that succeed him in it. It is to be hoped that the solemn, tho' silent Language of so bright an Example will have the desired Effect both Ways. I shall add a little of his Character.

He was a tall and graceful Person; there was something in his Looks and Carriage that discover'd what was within, and created a Veneration for him. He had an unaffected Gravity in his Deportment, and decent Simplicity in his Dress and Apparel. He had a long and broad Beard; for none ever saw a Razor pass upon his Face. His grey Hairs were a Crown to him, both for Beauty and Honour. His Strength continued firm to the last; so that the Week before his last Sickness, he walk'd about as vigourously and nimbly as any of the Company, and leapt over a broad Ditch; so that his Sons were amaz'd at it, and could scarce follow him. His Eyes continued so good that he never

never used Spectacles, nor did he suffer any Decay in any of his natural Powers, only by a Fall in his Childhood he had contracted a Deafness in his left Ear. He had great Strength and Health of Body, except that a few Years before his Death, he had some severe Fits of the Stone, that his sedentary Course of Life seemed to have brought on him, which he bore with wonderful Patience. The best Remedy that he found for it was to dig in his Garden 'till he had very much heated himself, by which he found a Mitigation of his Pain. He took much Pleasure in a Garden, and having brought over some curious Instruments out of Italy, for Racemation, Engrafting, and Inoculating, he was a great Master in the Use of them.

His Judgment and Memory, as they were very extraordinary, so they remained with him to the last. He always preached without Notes, but often writ down his Meditations after he preached them. He did not affect to shew any other Learning in his Sermons, but what was proper for opening his Text, and clearing the Difficulties in it; which he did by comparing the Originals with the most ancient Versions. His Stile was clear and full, but plain and simple; for he abhorred all Affectation of pompous Rhetorick in Sermons, as contrary to the Simplicity of *Christ*. His Sermons did all drive at the great Design of infusing into the Hearts of his Hearers right Apprehensions, and warm Thoughts of the great Things of the Christian Religion; which he did with so much the more Authority, because it appeared he was much moved himself with those Things he delivered to others.

HE was always at work in his Study, when the Affairs of his Function did not lead him out of it.  
In

In which his chief Employment was the Study of the Text of the Scripture. He read the *Hebrew* and *Septuagint* so much, that they were as familiar to him as the *English* Translation. He read every Morning the *Psalms* appointed by the *Common Prayer* for the Day in *Hebrew*; or if his Son, or any other that was skilled in the *Hebrew*, was present, he read one Verse out of the *Hebrew*, turning it into *Latin*, and the other read the next, and so by Turns till they went through them. He had gathered a vast Heap of critical Expositions of Scripture. All this, with his other Manuscripts, of which there was a great Trunk full, fell into the Hands of the *Irish*. He had writ very learned Paraphrases and Sermons on all those Parts of Scripture that were prescribed to be read in the second Service, but all these were lost. His great *Hebrew* Manuscript was happily rescued out of the Hands of those Devourers of all sacred Things, and is to this Day preserved in the Library of *Emmanuel* College: For an *Irishman*, whom he had converted, went among his Countrymen, and brought out that, and a few other Books to him.

EVERY Day after Dinner and Supper there was a Chapter of the Bible read at his Table; whosoever were present, Protestants or Papists, and Bibles were laid down before every one of the Company, and before himself, either the *Hebrew* or *Greek*, and in his last Years the *Irish* Translation was laid, and he usually explained the Difficulties that occurred.

HE writ many Books of Controversy; which was chiefly occasioned by the late Engagements that lay on him, to labour much in the Conversion of Persons of the *Roman* Communion; and the Knowledge he had of that Church, and their

Way



Way of Worship, by what he had seen and observed while he was at *Venice*, raised in him a great Zeal against their Corruptions.

He kept a great Correspondence, not only with the Divines of *England*, but with many others over *Europe*; for he wrote both *Latin* and *Italian* very elegantly. He was very free in his Conversation, but talked seldom of indifferent Matters; he expressed a great Modesty of Spirit, and a Moderation of Temper in every Thing he spoke, and his Discourse still turned to something that made his Company useful and instructing. He spoke his own Thoughts very plainly, and as he bore well the Freedom of others, so he took all the discreet Liberty that became a Man of his Age and Station, and did not stick to tell even the learned and worthy Primate *Usher*, such Things as he thought were blame worthy in him, and with the same Sincerity he shewed him some critical Mistakes that he met with in some of his Works. They were very few, and not of any great Importance; but they did not agree with the Primate's Exactness in other Things, and so he laid them before him; which the other took from him with that Kindness and Humility that was natural to him. His Habit was decent and grave; he wore no Silk, but plain Stuffs; the Furniture of his House was not pompous nor superstitious, but necessary for common Use, and proper. His Table was well covered, according to the Plenty that was in the Country, but there was no Luxury in it. Great Resort was made to him, and he observed a true Hospitality in House-keeping. Many poor *Irish* Families about him were maintained out of his Kitchen: And in the *Christmas* Time he had the Poor always eating with him at his own Table; and he brought himself to endure both the Sight of their Rags,

Rags, and their Rudeness: He was not forward to speak, and he expressed himself in very few Words in publick Companies. At publick Tables he usually sat silent. Once at the Earl of *Strafford's* Table one observed, that while they were all Talking, he said nothing: So the Primate answered, *Broach him, and you will find good Liquor in him.* Upon which that Person proposed a Question in Divinity to him, and in answering it, the Bishop shewed both his own Sufficiency so well, and puffed the other so much, that all at Table, except the Bishop himself, fell a laughing at the other. The Greatness of his Mind, and the Undauntedness of his Spirit on all Occasions has appeared very evidently in many of the Passages of his Life; but though that Height of Mind is often accompanied with a great Mixture of Pride, nothing of that appeared in the Bishop. He carried himself towards all People with such a gaining Humility, that he got into their Hearts: He lived with his Clergy as if they had been his Brethren. When he kept his Visitations, he would not accept of the Invitations that were made him by the great Men of the Country, but would needs eat with his Brethren in such poor Inns, and of such coarse Fare, as the Places afforded. A Person of Quality, that had prepared an Entertainment for him during his Visitation, took his refusing it so ill, that whereas the Bishop promised to come and see him after Dinner, as soon as he came near his Gate, which was standing open, it was presently shut, on Design to affront him, and he was kept Half an Hour knocking at it: The Affront was visible, and when some would have had him go away, he would not do it, but said, *They would hear ere long.*

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At last the Master came out, and received him with many Shews of Civility, but he made a very short Visit, and though the Rudeness he met with prevailed not on him, either to resent it, or to go away upon it, yet it appeared that he understood it well enough. He avoided all Affectations of State or Greatness in his Carriage: He went about always on Foot, when he was at *Dublin*, one Servant only attending him, except on publick Occasions, that obliged him to ride in Procession among his Brethren. He never kept a Coach, for his Strength continued so entire that he was always able to ride on Horseback: He avoided the Affectations of Humility as well as of Pride; the former flowing often from greater Pride, and amidst all those extraordinary Talents, with which God had blest him, it never appeared that he over-valued himself, nor despised others; that he assumed to himself a Dictatorship, or was impatient of Contradiction. He took an ingenious Device to put him in Mind both of his Obligations to Purity and Humility: It was a flaming Crucible with this Motto in Hebrew, *Take from me all my Tin*. The Word in *Hebrew* that signifies *Tin* was *Bedil*. This imported that he thought that very Thing in himself was but base Alloy, and therefore he prayed that God would cleanse him from it. His great Humility made the secret Parts of his Goodness, as to his private walking with God, less known, except as they appeared in that best and surest Indication of it, which his Life and Conversation gave; yet if the Rebels had not destroyed all his Papers, there would have been found among them great Discoveries of this; for he kept a daily Journal for many Years; but of what Sort it was, how full, and how particular, is only known to God; since no Man ever saw it, unless some of the Rebels found it. Though it is not

not probable that they would have taken the Pains to examine his Papers, it being more likely that they destroyed them all in a Heap. He never thought of changing his See, or of rising to a more advantageous Bishoprick, but considered himself as under a Tye to his See, that could not be easily dissolved. So that when the translating him to a Bishoprick in *England*, was proposed to him, he refused it, and said he should be as troublesome a Bishop in *England*, as he had been in *Ireland*.

It appeared he had a true and generous Notion of Religion, and that he did not look upon it so much as a System of Opinions, or a Set of Forms, as a divine Discipline that reforms the Heart and Life; and therefore when some Men were valued upon their Zeal for some lesser Matters, he had these Words of St. *Augustine* often in his Mouth, *It is not Leaves but Fruit that I seek*. This was the true Principle of his great Zeal against Popery: It was not the Peevishness of a Party, the Sourness of a speculative Man, nor the Concern of an interested Person, that wrought on him: But he considered the Corruptions of that Church, as an effectual Course for enervating the true Design of Christianity; and this he not only gathered from Speculation, but from what he saw and knew during his long Abode in *Italy*.

His Devotion in his Closet was only known to him, who commanded him to pray in secret. In his Family he prayed always thrice a Day; in the Morning, and before Dinner, and after Supper: And he never turned over this Duty, or the short Devotions before and after Meat, on his Chaplain, but was always his own Chaplain. He looked upon the Obligation of observing the Sabbath as  
moral



moral and perpetual, and considered it as so great an Engine for carrying on the true Ends of Religion, that as he would never go into the Liberties that many practised on that Day ; so he was exemplary in his own exact Observation of it ; Preaching always twice, and Catechising once ; and besides that, he used to go over the Sermons again in his Family, and sing Psalms, and concluded all with Prayer.

As for his domestick Concerns, he married one of the Family of the *L'Estranges*, that had been before married to the Recorder of *S. Edmondsbury* : She proved to be in all Respects a very fit Wife for him ; she was exemplary for her Life, humble and modest in her Habit and Behaviour, and was singular in many excellent Qualities, particularly in a very extraordinary Reverence that she payed him : She bore him four Children, three Sons and a Daughter, but one of the Sons and the Daughter died young, so none survived but *William* and *Ambrose*. The just Reputation his Wife was in for her Piety and Virtue, made him choose that for the Text of her Funeral Sermon, *A good Name is better than Ointment*. She died of a Lethargy three Years before the Rebellion broke out ; and he preached her Funeral Sermon, with such a Mixture both of Tendernefs and Moderation, as touched the whole Congregation so much, that there were very few dry Eyes in the Church, all the while. He did not like burying in the Church ; for, as he observed there was much both of Superstition and Pride in it, so he believed it was a great Annoyance to the Living, when there was so much of the Steam of dead Bodies rising about them : He was likewise much offended at the Rudeness which the crowding the dead Bodies in a small Parcel of Ground occasioned ; for the Bodies already laid there, and not

yet quite rotten, were often raised and mangled; so that he made a Canon in his Synod against burying in Churches, and as he often wished that Burying-Places were removed out of all Towns, so he did choose the most remote and least frequented Place of the Church-Yard of *Kilmore* for his Wife, and by his Will he ordered that he should be laid next her with this bare Inscription,

*Depositem Gulielmi quondam Episcopi Kilmorensis.*

*Depositem* cannot bear an *English* Translation, it signifying somewhat given to another in Trust, so he considered his Burial as a Trust left in the Earth till the Time that it shall be called on to give up its Dead.

As for his two Sons, he was satisfied to provide for them in so modest a Way, as shewed that he neither aspired to high Things on their Behalf, nor did he consider the Revenue of the Church as a Property of his own, out of which he might raise a great Estate for them. He provided his eldest Son with a Benefice of Eighty Pounds a Year, in which he laboured with that Fidelity that became the Son of such a Father; and his second Son, not being a Man of Letters, had a little Estate of Sixty Pounds a Year given him by the Bishop; which was the only Purchase that I hear he made; and I am informed, that he gave nothing to his eldest Son but that Benefice, which he so well deserved. So little Advantage did he give to the Enemies of the Church; either to those of the Church of *Rome*, against the Marriage of the Clergy, or to the Dividers among ourselves, against the Revenues of the Church: The one Sort objecting that a married State made the Clergy covetous, in order to the raising their Families, and the others pretending that the Revenues  
of

of the Church being converted by Clergymen into temporal Estates for their Children, it was no Sacrilege to invade that which was generally no less abused by Churchmen, than it could be by Laymen.

MAY the great Shepherd and Bishop of Souls, so inspire all that are the Overseers of that Flock, which he purchased with his own Blood, that in Imitation of all those glorious Patterns that are in Church-History, and of this in the last Age, that is inferior to very few that any former Age produced, they may watch over the Flock of *Christ*, and so feed and govern them, that the Mouths of all Adversaries may be stop'd, and that all Differences about lesser matters being laid down, Peace and Truth may again flourish, and the true Ends of Religion and Church-Government may be advanced; and that instead of biting, devouring and consuming one another, as we do, we may all build up one another in our most holy Faith.





THE  
LIFE and DEATH  
OF  
*Archbishop* USHER.

Publish'd in a Sermon at his Funeral at  
the Abbey of *Westminster*, April 17,  
1656, by Dr. BERNARD.

JAMES USHER, was born in *Dublin*, in St. Nicholas Parish, in the Year 1580. His Father, Mr. *Arland Usher*, was brought up in the Study of the Law, a Person of excellent Parts and Endowments. His Mother, Mrs. *Margaret Staniburst*, was seduced to the Roman Religion while he was in *England*, whom they had in some Vows so engaged, that when he came back she could not be reclaimed, to his no small Grief. His Grandfather by his Mother's Side was *James Staniburst*, three times Speaker of the House of Commons in *Ireland*; he made the first Motion for the Founding of a College and University in *Dublin*, he was



Recorder of that City, one of the Masters of the Chancery, and a Man of great Wisdom and Integrity. His Uncle was *Richard Stanilurst*, a very learned Man. His Uncle by his Father's Side was *Henry Usher*, Archbishop of *Armagh*, a wise and learned Man; he was sent over to petition Queen *Elizabeth* for the Founding of a College and University in *Dublin*, which he obtained; so that the College (of which this Person was the sacred First-fruits) had its Being by his Grandfather's Motion, and his Uncle's effecting. He had a Brother, *Ambrose Usher*, who died young; a Man of great Parts also, much excelling in the *Oriental Languages*.

Two of his Aunts, who by Reason of their Blindness never saw Letters, taught him first to read. Their Readiness in the Scripture was marvellous, being able suddenly to repeat any Part of the Bible.

AT eight Years old he was sent to the Grammar-School; Sir *James Fullerton* (who was afterwards Embassador in *France*, and died in a great Office at Court) was his School-Master.

HE, with Sir *James Hamilton* (afterwards Lord Viscount *Clandeboise*) who was Usher of the School, were sent then out of *Scotland* by King *James* upon another Design, only disguised in that Employment: They came very opportunely for his founding in Learning; which he often acknowledged the Providence of GOD in.

AT ten Years old he found in him the true Sense of Religion, by a Sermon he heard preach'd upon *Rom. xii. 1.* His Reading then of some Notes, taken in Writing from Mr. *Perkins*, con-

cerning the Sanctifying of the LORD's Day, took so with him, that he was ever after careful to keep it. He then read in *Latin* St. *Augustin's* Meditations, which so moved him, that he wept often in the Reading of them.

UPON the accustoming himself thus to good Duties in his tender Years, the Devil endeavour'd to nip him in the Bud, by divers Sorts of Terrors and Affrightments, sleeping and waking, tending to the discouraging of him in the Way of Godliness. But he constantly apply'd himself to Prayer, and at length was heard in that he feared, by some unusual Way of Support and Comfort; which took that Impression in him, that it was fresh in his Memory in his elder Years.

WHEN he could not be frighted out of that Course, the Devil laid a Bait of Pleasure to withdraw him, by some of his Friends teaching him to play at Cards, which he found himself so delighted with, that it not only took Place of the Love of his Book, but began to be a Rival with that Spiritual Part in him; upon the Apprehension of which, he gave it over, and never play'd after.

AT twelve Years old he was so affected with Chronology and Antiquity, that reading *Sleidan* of the four Empires and other Authors, he drew out an exact Series of Times when each eminent Person lived. In the Space of five Years he was perfectly instructed in Grammar, Rhetoric, and Poetry. He excelled in Poetry, which he found himself so delighted with, that he took himself off, lest it should have taken him off from more serious Studies.

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AT thirteen he was admitted into the College of *Dublin*, being the first Scholar that was enter'd into it. And now Sir *James Hamilton*, hitherto Usher of the School, was chosen Fellow of the College, and so became his Tutor; whom I have often heard admiring his Quickness and Proficiency.

AT fourteen Years old he was called to Receiving the Communion. The Afternoon before, his usual Custom was to sequester himself, and spend it in strict Examination, and penitential Humiliation of himself for his Sins, which was so operative, that Streams of Tears ran from him, which he often reflected upon, as an exemplary Provocation, and Censure of himself, when he was of elder Years.

I HAVE often heard him speak of a certain Place by a Water-side, whither he frequently resorted, sorrowfully to recount his Sins, and with Floods of Tears to pour them out in the Confession of them; the Fruit of which he found to be so sweet to his Soul, that he thirsted for all Occasions of such a Sequestration, and so usually on *Saturdays* in the Afternoon it was his Custom. One Sin he lamented was, his too much Love of human Learning, that he should be as glad of *Monday* to go to that, as of the LORD's Day for his Service; it cost him many a Tear, that he could not be more heavenly minded at that Age.

AT fifteen he had made such a Proficiency in Chronology, that in *Latin* he drew up an exact Chronicle of the Bible, as far as the Book of *Kings*. About that Time he had a strong Temptation, that God did not love him, because he had no outward Afflictions, or Troubles of Conscience,

ence, occasioned by some inconsiderate Expressions he read in some Writers.

BEFORE he was Batchelor of Arts, he had read *Stapleton's Fortrefs of the Faith*, and finding his Confidence in asserting Antiquity for the Tenets of Popery, he was put to a Plunge within himself; this he took for a Truth, that the antientest Church must be the best. His Suspicion was, that *Stapleton* might misquote the Fathers, or wrest them to his own Sense; hence he then took up a Resolution, that if God gave him Life and Health, he would read the Fathers all over; and so, as I take it, he began that Work at twenty Years of Age, and finished it at thirty-eight, strictly observing his Proportion each Day, what Occasions soever diverted him.

BUT now his Father's Intention to send him over hither to the Inns of Court for the Study of the Common Law, much disturbed him; yet, in Obedience to his Father, he assented and resolved it. But not long after his Father died, and being then at Liberty to make Choice of his Studies, he devoted himself to Divinity, and was chosen Fellow of the College; before which he was incapable of taking the Oath then given at the Admission of them, viz. "That the present Intent of their Studies should be for the Profession of Divinity, unless God should afterwards otherwise dispose their Minds."

HERE was given another Occasion of Disturbance: His Father left him a very good Estate in Land, but finding he must have involved himself in many Suits in Law before it could have been settled, to the withdrawing him from his Studies, he gave it up to his Brother and Sisters; and suffered

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ferred his Uncle to take Letters of Administration for that End, being in those Years resolved to put himself upon the Providence of GOD, to whose Service in the Ministry he had devoted himself, and did not doubt but He would provide for him.

WHEN he was nineteen Years old, he disputed with *Henry Fitz Symonds* the Jesuit, in the Castle of *Dublin*. He offered to dispute with him thro' the Controversies of *Ballarmine*. The first Subject was *de Anti-christo*: Twice or thrice they had solemn Disputations. He was ready to have proceeded, but the Jesuit was weary of it, yet gives him a tolerable Commendation, and much admires the Forwardness of him at such young Years. Some of his Words are, "There came once to me a Youth of about eighteen Years of Age, one of a too soon ripe Wit, scarce, as you would think, gone thro' his Course of Philosophy, or got out of his Childhood, yet ready to dispute of the most abstruse Points in Divinity." And afterwards the same Jesuit living to understand more of him, saith, he was, *A catholicorum doctissimis*, as an unusual, so a tender Expression, loth to call him an Heretick; but of such as are not Catholics, the most learned.

ABOUT twenty Years of Age he commenced Master of Arts, and was chosen Catechist of the College, when he went through a great Part of the Body of Divinity in the Chapel.

AND now by Reason of the Scarcity of Preachers, (it being there then as is *Samuel's* Time here, *The Word of GOD was precious*) three young Men of the College were appointed to preach in *Christ-Church* before the State. One of whom was this most learned Primate; and his Part was to handle the

the Controversies for the Satisfaction of the Papists, on the LORD's Day in the Afternoon; which he did so perspicuously, ever concluding with Matter of Exhortation, that it was much for the Confirmation and Edification of the Protestants.

BUT after a little Space, he refused to continue it, because he had not yet received Ordination; and that he also made a Scruple of taking yet, by his defect of Years, the Constitutions of *England* requiring twenty-four, and he not yet being twenty-one; but by some of the most grave and learned Men, he was told the LORD had need of him. Upon their urging him, and his Age being dispensed with, he was ordained by his Uncle *Henry Usber*, Archbishop of *Armagh*.

THE first Text he preached on publicly after his Ordination, was *Rev. iii. 1. Thou hast a Name that thou livest, and art dead*; it fell out to be the same Day with the Battle of *Kinsale*, the Friday before *Christmas-Day* 1601; and it being a Day specially set a-part for Prayer, for a good Success upon that Engagement; and being his first Fruits in that Office, might possibly be the more efficacious. He began that Epistle to the Church of *Sardis* then, and finished it afterwards.

THE Design was then known, that if the *Spaniards* had got the better, most of the Protestants had been slain by the *Irish* Papists, both in *Dublin* and elsewhere, but especially the Ministers without any Distinction; hence arose a Temptation in him to have deferred Ordination 'till the Event of that Battle were known, whereby he should not have been in such imminent Danger; but he repelled that Motion, and resolved the rather upon it, conceiving

ceiving he should in that Office of the Ministry, and for that Cause, die the next Door to Martyrdom.

AFTER the Spaniards Overthrow at Kinsale, the Hopes of the *Irish* being lost, they began to subject themselves to the Statute now put in Execution, in coming to Church; and for their further Information in Point of Religion, the Lord Lieutenant and Council, desired the Ministers so to divide themselves, that in each Church on the LORD's Day in the Afternoon, in Imitation of what he had already begun at *Christ-Church*, there might be a Sermon for that End: A convenient Church (*St. Catherine's*) was assigned for this reverend Person, who removed according, and duly observed it. His Custom was to draw up the Sum of what he had delivered into Questions and Answers, and the next Sunday Persons of good Esteem, voluntarily offered themselves to repeat the Answers before the whole Congregation, which occasioned them to be the more taken Notice of by the Papists.

By this his Labour, and others of his Brethren, not only in *Dublin*, but in other Parts of the Kingdom, the Papists came to Church so diligently, that if they had Occasion to absent themselves, they would send their Excuse to the Church Wardens. But notwithstanding these good Beginnings, suddenly the Statute was again suspended, the Power of the High Commission was withdrawn: At which the Papists presently withdrew themselves again; and Popery from that Time returned to a higher Tide than before, and overflowed its former Banks in a general Deluge over the whole Nation.

UPON this, the Spirit of this holy and eminent Person, like *St. Paul's* at *Athens*, was stirred within him, and preaching before the State at *Christ-Church*,

*Church, Dublin, upon a special Solemnity, did with as much Prudence and Fortitude as might become those younger Years, give them his Sense of that their Toleration of Idolatry; and made full and bold Application of that Passage in the Vision of Ezekiel, Chap. iv. 6. where the Prophet by lying on his Side, was to bear the Iniquity of Judah forty Days, I have appointed thee a Day for a Year, even a Day for a Year, as the old Translation of that Bible he then used, reads it. This by consent of Interpreters, signifies the Time of forty Years to the Destruction of Jerusalem, and that Nation for their Idolatry. He made then his direct Application in relation to that Connivance of Popery, viz. From this Year will I reckon the Sin of Ireland, that those whom you now embrace shall be your Ruin, and you shall bear this Iniquity.*

HAVING since Occasion further to consider it, we found there were from the Year 1601, forty Years to the late Rebellion and Destruction of Ireland, anno 1641, done by those Papists, and Popish Priests connived at. He had reserved the Notes of that Sermon, with the Year and Day he preached it; and, it is the more observable, it was one of the last he wrote throughout Word for Word, but afterwards without writing any Thing but the Heads, put his Meditations wholly upon the strength of his Memory, and God's Assistance.

THIS is a very observable Passage, and if it may be conceived to be a prophetick Impulse in those Years, he was the liker Samuel, who in his Youth was sent with the like Message to Eli, relating the Ruin of his native Country, *That the LORD would do such a Thing in Israel, that whosoever hears it, both his Ears should tingle.* And what a continued Expectation he had of a Judgment upon his Native



Native Country, I can witness from the Year 1624, when I had the Happiness first to be known to him, and the nearer the Time every Year, the more confident he was to my Admiration; there being nothing visibly tending to the Fear of it.

AFTER this, he constantly came over to *England* once in three Years, and thus he spent the Summer, one Month at *Oxford*, another at *Cambridge*, searching the Books, but especially the Manuscripts of each University, the third Month at *London*, attending chiefly Sir *Thomas Cotton's* Library, and conversing with learned Men, with whom in those younger Years he was in great Esteem; and in after Years, scarce a choice Book in any eminent Persons Library, in *France, Italy, Germany, or Rome*, but he had his Way to have it, or what he desired transcribed; and he was better acquainted with the Pope's Vatican, than some that daily visited it.

THE first Church Preferment he had, was the Chancellorship of *St. Patrick's, Dublin*, unto which he took no other Benefice.

IN this Dignity the Law might have excused him from preaching, but only sometimes in his Course before the State, yet he would not omit it to the Place from whence he received the Profits, but went thither in Person, viz. to *Finglas*, a Mile from *Dublin*, and preached there every LORD's Day, unless upon extraordinary Occasions he were detained; and in having been a constant Preacher, he took in his elder Years more Comfort than in all his other Labours and Writings.

HIS Experiences in Prayer were many, and very observable in the Return of his Desires in kind,  
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and that immediately, when he had been in some Distresses; and the Providence of GOD in taking care of him in his younger Years, as he did often recount, confirmed his Dependence upon him in these his elder.

WHEN he was twenty-seven Years old, anno. 1607. he commenced Batchelor of Divinity, and immediately after was chosen Professor of Divinity in that University of *Dublin*.

IN the Year 1612, he proceeded Doctor of Divinity, one of his Lectures *pro gradu*, was of the seventy Weeks to the *slaying of the Messiah*, Dan. ix. 24. The other out of *Revel. xx. 4.* concerning the Sense of that, viz. *The Saints reigning with Christ a thousand Years.*

IN the Year 1613, he published that Book *De Ecclesiarum Christianarum Successione & statu*, magnified by *Casaubon* and *Scultetus*, in their *Greek and Latin Verses* before it; it was solemnly presented by Archbishop *Abbot* to King *James*, as the eminent first Fruits of that College of *Dublin*.

IN the Year 1615, there was a Parliament in *Dublin*, and a Convocation of the Clergy, then those learned Articles of *Ireland* were composed and published, he being a Member of the Synod, was appointed to draw them up; highly approved by the most Orthodox Divines. I know no Cause of some Men's speaking against them, unless for that they determine according to *St. Augustine's Doctrine against the Pelagians*, *The Man of Sin*, 2 *Thes. ii.* to be the Bishop of *Rome*, and the *Morality of the Sabbath*; of both which, this most learned Primate was very confident, and wished some learned Men of late had spared their Pens to the contrary.

AND

AND now he wanted not Enemies in scandalizing him to King *James*, under the Title of a Puritan, to prevent any further Promotion of him, but it so fell out, that was the Occasion of his Advancement, for King *James* being in some Fear of him upon that Score by the Eminency of his Learning, fell into some full Discourse with him, and received such abundant Satisfaction of the Soundness of his Judgment and Piety, that notwithstanding the Opposition of great ones, without his seeking, he made him Bishop of *Meath* in *Ireland*, and as I have heard, did often boast, that *he was a Bishop of his own making*: But the Misinterpretations which some of his Enemies had raised and spread of him moved him voluntarily to declare his Judgment, as to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*, which was to all good Men's Satisfaction.

HE did not now slack in his Constancy of preaching, but bound himself the rather to it, by the Motto of his Episcopal Seal. *Va mihi si non Evangelizavero*, which he continued in the Seal of his Primacy also.

WHILE he was in *England*, Primate *Hampton* dying, he was made in the Year 1624, Primate of *Ireland*, the hundreth Bishop of that See, from the first, supposed to be *Patricius*, who lived in St. *Augustine's* Time, four hundred Years after *Christ*, whom we read much of in divers ancient Writers; and this reverend Primate in his Book called the *Religion of the Ancient Irish* hath made it appear very probable, that the Doctrine St. *Patrick* planted, and preached among them at first, was the same now professed by us.

WHEN he was thus promoted to the highest Step his Profession was capable of in his Native Country, he was the more humble, and laborious in preaching: And it so fell out, that for some Weeks together, preaching beyond his Strength, to the overmuch wasting of his Spirits, at the Request of some Ministers in *Essex* to have him preach upon the Week Days, he fell into a *Quartan Ague*, which held him three Quarters of a Year.

AFTER his Recovery, the Lord *Mordant*, afterwards Earl of *Peterborough*, being a Papist, and desirous to draw his Lady to the same Religion, was willing there should be a Meeting of two prime Men of each, to dispute what might be in Controversy between them. The Lady made choice of the Lord Primate, and prevailed with him, though newly recovered, and scarce able to take that Journey.

THE Jesuit chosen by the Earl, went unde the Name of *Beaumont*, but his right Name was *Rookwood*, brother to *Ambrose Rookwood*, one of the Conspirators of the Gunpowder-Treason, and executed. The Place of Meeting was at *Drayton*, in *Northamptonshire*, where there was a great Library, that no Books of the ancient Fathers were wanting for their View. The Points proposed, were concerning Transubstantiation, Invocation of-Saints, Images, Visibility of the Church. Three Days were spent in Disputations, but the Conclusion was this. After the third Day, the Lord Primate, hitherto being Opponent, and now the Jesuit taking that Part upon him, and my Lord to be Respondent, that Morning about the Time he was expected, excused his coming to the Earl, saying, "That all the Arguments he had framed in his own Head, and thought he had them as perfect as his



his *Pater Noster*, he had forgotten, and could not recover them again. That he believed it was the just Judgment of God upon him, thus to desert him in the Defence of his Cause, for the undertaking of himself to dispute with a Man of that Eminency and Learning, without the Licence of his Superior."

WHEREUPON the Earl upon some further Discourse with this Lord Primate was converted, and became a Protestant, and so continued to his last.

Upon this, the Countess of *Peterborough* owed him a great Respect, and upon his Losses in *Ireland*, and other Distresses here, she took him to her own House, with whom he lived about nine or ten Years, and died there.

IN the Year 1626, in *August*, he returned into *Ireland*, where he was received with all the Expressions of Joy that could be given.

THE Discourses which daily fell from him at his Table in the clearing of Difficulties in the Scripture, and other Subjects, was of great Advantage to such as were capable of them. It put me often in mind of that Speech of the Queen of *Sheba* to *Solomon*. *Happy are these thy Servants that continually stand about thee, and hear thy Wisdom.*

THE Order observed in his Family as to Prayer, was four Times a Day; in the Morning at six, in the Evening at eight, and before Dinner and Supper in the Chappel; at all of which he was always present.

ON *Friday* in the Afternoon constantly an Hour in the Chappel was spent in going through the Principles of Religion, for the Instruction of the Family. And every *Sunday Evening*, we had a Repetition of his Sermon.

IN *Michaelmas Term, Anno. 1626*, Propositions were made by the Papists; for a more full Toleration of their Religion, viz. the maintaining 500 Horse, and 5000 Foot, wherein the Protestants must have borne some Share also; for the Consideration of which a great Assembly of the whole Nation, Papists and Protestants was called in the Lord Deputy *Falkland's Time*.

THE Bishops, by this Lord Primate's Invitation met at his House, and he and they unanimously subscribed a Protestation against the Toleration of Popery, which is as followeth.

“ THE Religion of the Papists is superstitious  
 “ and Idolatrous; their Faith and Doctrine erroneous and heretical, their Church in Respect of  
 “ both, Apostatical. To give them therefore a  
 “ Toleration, or to consent that they may freely  
 “ exercise their Religion, and profess their Faith  
 “ and Doctrine, is a grievous Sin, and that in two  
 “ Respects :

“ FOR 1. It is to make ourselves accessory not  
 “ only to their Superstitions, Idolatries, Heresies,  
 “ and in a Word, to all the Abominations of  
 “ Popery; but also (which is a consequent of the  
 “ former) to the Perdition of the seduced People,  
 “ which perish in the Deluge of the Catholick  
 “ Apostasy.

“ 2 To

“ 2. To grant them Toleration, in respect of  
 “ any Money, or Contribution to be made by  
 “ them, is to set Religion to Sale, and with it the  
 “ Souls of the People whom *Christ* our Saviour  
 “ hath redeemed with his most precious Blood.  
 “ And as it is a great Sin, so also a Matter of dan-  
 “ gerous Consequence. The Consideration whereof,  
 “ we commend to the Wise and Judicious. Be-  
 “ seeing the zealous GOD of Truth, to make them  
 “ em who are in Authority, zealous of GOD’s Glo-  
 “ ry, and of the Advancement of true Religion.  
 “ Zealous, resolute, and courageous against all Su-  
 “ perstition, and Idolatry. *Amen.*”

James, *Armachanus.*

Mal. *Caschellen.*

Anth. *Medensis.*

Tho. *Hernes. & Laughlin.*

Ro. *Dunensis, &c.*

George, *Derenf.*

Richard, *Cork, Cloyne, Ross.*

Andrew, *Alachadensf.*

Thomas, *Kilmore & Ardagh.*

Theophilus, *Dromore.*

Michael, *Waterford & Lismore.*

Francis, *Limerick.*

AND here let me give you some of his exemplar-  
 ry Injunctions. Every LORD’s Day he preached  
 in the Forenoon, in which he spent himself much. In  
 the Afternoon, this was his Order to me, that, be-  
 sides the catching of the Youth before publick  
 Prayers, I should after the first and second Lesson,  
 spend about half an hour in a brief and plain Open-  
 ing the Principles of Religion in the publick Cate-  
 chism; and after that I was to preach. First, he  
 directed me to go through the Creed at once, gi-  
 ving but the Sum of each Article; the next Time

at Thrice; and afterwards, each Time an Article as they might be more able to bear it; and so proportionably the ten Commandments, LORD's Prayer, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments. The good Fruit of which was apparent in the Vulgar, upon their Approach to the Communion, when, as by the then Order, the Names of the Recievers were to be given in, so some Account was constantly taken of their Fitness for it. His order throughout his Diocese to the Ministers was, to go through the Body of Divinity once a Year. When a publick Fast was enjoined, he kept it very strictly, preached always first himself, as least continuing two Hours, and more than ordinarily extending himself in Prayer.

His Expences were much in Books: He first procured the *Samaritan Bible*, which is only the *Pentateuch*, to the View of these Western Parts.

It would seem incredible to relate how many Years ago, he did confidently foretell the Changes that have come to pass in these Dominions. And of the Poverty he expected himself, which he said often, in the Midst of his Plenty.

SOME have much observed that Text he took at *St. Marys in Cambridge*, in the Year 1625, on the late King's Day, and the first annual Solemnity of it; 1 Sam. xii. 25. *But if ye still do Wickedly, you shall be consumed, both you and your King.* Others, the last Text he preached at Court immediately before his Return into Ireland. 1 Cor. xiv. 33. *God is not the Author of Confusion, but of Peace, as in all the Churches of the Saints:* His Application to the Confusions and Divisions, he was confident were at the Doors, was then observed.

He



HE hath often acknowledged that sometimes that which he hath resolved in his Sermon not to utter, was like *Jeremiah's Fire, shut up in his Bones*, that he could not forbear reproving the greatest; even before Kings he was not ashamed: And his Preaching was with Authority; he *withstood to the Face* any Toleration of Popery and Superstition, by whomsoever attempted. At hearing him I have thought of that speech in the *Psalms, The Zeal of thy House hath eaten me up,*

I REMEMBER a Speech of his, in the Year 1624. which he hath often confirmed: "That he was persuaded the greatest Stroke to the reformed Church, was to come yet; that the Time of the utter Ruin of the See of *Rome* should be, when she thought herself most secure; according to that of *Babylon at her Destruction*, Revel. xviii. 7. which he thought to be meant of the same, *she shall say, I sit as a Queen, and shall see no more Sorrow.*"

His farewell Sermon, in or very near the Place where he had lived and preached in *England*, was much observed; James i. 15. *Sin when it is finished, brings forth Death*; his full Application of it to the Fulness of the Sins of this Nation, which certainly would bring forth Destruction, that the *Harvest of the Earth was ripe, and the Angel putting in his Sickle*; applying that of the *Ephah* in the Vision of Zech. v. when it was filled with *Wickedness*; and as that of the *Amorites*, when their Iniquities were full, then destroyed, affected much the Auditory.

THE last Time he was in *London*, he did much lament the deadly Hatred kindling in the Hearts of Men one against another, by the several Opinions in Matter of Religion; some of them in Opposition to a Ministry, contemning the Sacraments; others spreading

spreading damnable Doctrines, Heresies, and Blasphemies; he was confident, that the Enemy which hath sown those up and down the Nation, were Priests, Friars, and Jesuits, sent out of their Seminaries from beyond Seas, in other Disguises; who by their Numbers multiplying in *London* and elsewhere, expect a great Harvest; and he was persuaded, if not timely weeded out, would either tend to Popery, or Massacres, or both: Adding therewith, how willing he was, if GOD so pleased, to be taken away before that Evil to come.

Now, it is not improbable, that so great a Prophet, so sanctified from his Youth, so knowing, and eminent, might have at some special Times, more than ordinary Impulses in doing the Watchman's Part, of giving Warning of Judgments approaching.

In the Year 1640, he came out of *Ireland* hither, being invited by some eminent Persons, upon Occasion of the Difference between the King and Parliament; and this I take Notice of, it was GOD's special Providence for his Preservation, it being the Year before the Rebellion of *Ireland*. At taking Leave of him, I cannot forget the serious Preparative he gave me against the heavy Sorrows and Miseries I should see before I saw him again; and with that Confidence, as if it had been within View; it put me in Mind of that in Amos iii. 7. *Surely the LORD will do nothing, but He will reveal it to his Servants the Prophets.*

His Library the first Year of the Rebellion of *Ireland*, 1641, was with us at *Drogheda*, when besieged four Months by those *Irish* Rebels, and when they made no Question of devouring us; the Priests and Friars without, talked much of the Prize they should

should have of it, but the barbarous Multitude, of burning it, and me by the Flame of the Books, instead of Faggots; but it pleased God in Answer of our Prayers, and Fasting, wonderfully to deliver us, and it out of their Hands; and so the whole, with all his Manuscripts, were sent him that Summer to *Chester*.

THE Sufferings he now laid under were many. All his personal Estate, and what else belonged to his Primacy in *Ireland*, was destroyed, only at present he was Preacher at *Covent-Garden Church*.

UPON his Losses in *Ireland*, and Straights here, two Offers were made him from foreign Nations: One from Cardinal *Richlieu*, only in relation to his eminent Learning, with a large Maintenance, and Liberty to have lived where he pleased in *France* with the Protestants. The other from the *Hollanders*, offering him the Place of being Professor at *Leyden*, which had an ample Stipend, but he refused both.

AND now he was by the Disturbance of the Times, perpetually removing, having, with *St. Paul*, no certain Dwelling-Place. The Saying of *David* was often in his Thoughts, *Thou tellest my Wanderings; put thou my Tears into thy Bottle*. Some of those Evidences *St. Paul* produceth, to approve himself to be the Minister of *Christ*, *2 Cor. vi.* were applicable to him; which, by learned Men of other Churches, he was often put in Mind of.

IN 1642, he obtained Leave of both Houses of Parliament to go to *Oxford* for his Study. In the Year 1644 the King coming thither, he preached before him, *November 5.* The Text was *Nehem. iv. 11.* *And our Adversaries said, they shall not know,*  
neither

neither see, till we come in the Midst among them, and slay them, and cause their Works to cease. A most apt Text for the Day; but this Passage in his Sermon against the Papists, advising not to repose any Trust in them, that upon the first Opportunity they will serve us here, as they did the poor Protestants in *Ireland*, offended some Persons there attending.

IN *March* following, he went from thence into *Wales* to *Cardiff* in *Glamorganshire*, and abode with his Daughter. In 1645, *Sept. 16*, he removed thence to *St. Donnets* (the *Lady Stradlings*) when by the Way he was barbarously used by some Soldiers; and pluckt off his Horse; they broke open two of his Trunks full of Books, and took all away, amongst which he lost two Manuscripts of the History of the *Waldenses*, which he never got again; most of the other Books were restored, by the Preachers exhorting all Sorts in their Sermons to that End.

NOT long after he fell into a painful Sickness, and bled four Days together, so that all Hope of Life was past: But he recovered, and in 1646, he came to *London*.

AFTER some some Space he was chosen Preacher to that Honourable Society of *Lincoln's Inn*, where he continued divers Years with great Honour and Respect, till having lost his Sight, and Strength, he was advised to forbear, and reserve the Remainder of his Spirits, like *Paul* aged, to the Writing his Books, yet expected. No Spectacles could help him, only when the Sun shined, he could see at a Window, which he hourly followed from Room to Room, in Winter, the Window



dow was often open for him to write at. The next Winter he intended to have an *Amanuensis*; but God hath been pleased to prevent it, by taking him to the Sight of himself.

AFTER he left *Lincoln's Inn*, he was prevailed with to preach in several Places: *Gray's Inn* on Nov. 5, 1654. At the *Temple* at Mr. *Soldon's* Funeral, and two other Places in the City, both which latter were very effectual in the Conversion of divers that came unto him; and indeed, seldom did that Sword, drawn by him return empty. The last Sermon he preached, was about *Michaelmas* last at *Hammer-smith*.

HE told me how much he was troubled, that he found himself unable to continue it; his Dreams were on it; and though he had been about 55 Years a Preacher, and so, like the *Levites*, might well be excused from the Service of the Sanctuary, only employing himself for the directing of others; yet he had resolved this Summer to have returned to it again.

HE sought no great Things for himself. In his Distresses, by his Losses in *Ireland*, the Parliament for some Years had been bountiful to him in an annual Stipend; but the last two Years of their Sitting suspended it. After their dissolving, the Care of him was renewed by the Lord Protector; by whose Order a competent Allowance was given him.

ALL that knew him found him very communicative, not only of his Studies, but of what he had out of his Stipend, to Persons in Want.

He was not wanting with *St. Paul*, to magnify his Office, which may be seen and read of all Men; but he did it without Partiality. He was not so severe as to disown the Ministry of other Reformed Churches; but declared, He did love and honour them as true Members of the Church Universal, and was ready, both for the Ministers of *Holland* and *France*, to testify his Communion with them.

He was a Man of most exemplary Moderation, Meekness, Humility, Ingenuity. He had in 1641, drawn up an Expedient, by Way of Accommodation in some Ecclesiastical Affairs, which some moderate Persons of each Party, were ready to subscribe.

In Matters of Doctrine, for Substantials, it was often his Charge not to preach any Thing as *pleasing Men*, but *GOD, who hath put us in Trust*: That in so seeking to please Men, we should not be the *Servants of Christ*. In the Defence of which Truths of Doctrine, no Man was more resolute and constant, not giving Place by Way of Subjection, no not for an Hour; but he thought the Case was altered in Circumstantials; that it was our Duty, with *St. Paul*, to please all Men, and not ourselves, in all such Things, to Edification and Concord.

In a Word, he was without *Wavering*, always one and the same, holding fast the Form of sound Words, and walked in the old Paths and good Way; and there is none that hath drunk the old Wine, straightway desires new; for, he saith, the old is better.

THE Night before he left *London*, Oh! the humble Expressions of his own Unworthiness, and the

demeaning of himself, as if he had been the least of Saints, which he uttered with many Tears: It wrought much upon us who found ourselves so far beneath him. He did then, as he had often before, wish us to prepare for Afflictions and Trials, which he was persuaded were not far from us. And the next Morning, being *Feb. 13, 1655*, I took my last Leave of him; and he returned to *Ryegate* to the Countess of *Peterborough's*.

THE Day he first sickened, *March 20*, he had been most Part of it at his Study; he went from thence to visit a Gentlewoman sick in the House, gave her most holy Advices for three Quarters of an Hour, in such an heavenly Manner, as if, like *Moses* upon Mount *Nebo*, his Eyes had been then strengthened to the Sight of that celestial *Canaan*; or with *St. Paul* in his Rapture, had been within the Gate of Heaven, to which he was now nearer then he was aware.

THAT Night about Eight, he first complained of his Hip, judging it to be a Touch of the *Sciatica*, which about 35 Years ago he had by sitting up late in the College-Library of *Dublin*. That, by an Ointment, he was eased of, and took some Rest that Night. In the Morning he complained of a great Pain in his Side. A Physician was sent for; but it continuing, and his Spirits decaying, he applied himself to Prayer, and upon the Abatement of the Torture, to advising those about him to provide in their Healths for Death, that then they might have nothing else to do but to die, which he took a great Content to find the Approach of.

In Prayer he had the Assistance of a Minister, but afterwards desired to be left to his own. The

last Words he was heard to utter, in praying for Forgiveness of Sins, were these, viz. *But, LORD, in special, forgive my Sins of Omission.* In general, he had his Wish, which I have often heard him make, that he might die like Mr. *Pertine*, who expired with crying for Mercy and Forgiveness.

WITH this humble Expression this holy Man of GOD expired; this *Daniel*, greatly beloved. A Speech which may be a Lesson to us all, and give us to our last Matter of solemn Meditation and Imitation.

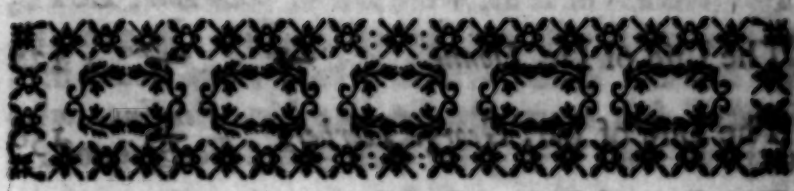
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